



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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PREFACE.

IN accordance with long-established custom, it behoves the EDITOR of the JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION to say a few words by way of Preface, and the present Editor does so with the more confidence and pleasure because he is deeply sensible of the kindness and consideration he has met with from all the members of the Association with whom he has had personal or official relations since the mantle of Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH was transferred to his shoulders. He feels the onerous nature of the task which has been assigned him in succeeding so able an Editor and so renowned an Archæologist as Dr. BIRCH; but his hope is, and his endeavour will ever be, that the Association, and the great and important work in which it is engaged in fostering a love for, and an intelligent interest in, Archæological studies, shall not suffer in his hands.

The present volume, THE THIRD OF THE NEW SERIES, for the year 1897, contains twenty-nine of the principal Papers which were laid before the Congress in London in the summer of 1896, or during the evening meetings of the Session of 1896-7 in London, as well as a record of the Congress and evening meetings. The Volume is enriched, as in former years, with numerous full-page illustrations, and smaller woodcuts, which have been contributed by the authors of the Papers to which they relate, to whom our warm thanks are due. In this way the appearance of the Journal is greatly improved, and its value enhanced.

The contents are, as usual, very miscellaneous, and embrace a wide range of subjects ; but once again we have to confess that no very important or unusual archæological discovery will be found within its pages. The chief event of the year, from an archæological point of view, was the exploration of the so-called " Danes' Graves " in Yorkshire by CANON GREENWELL, in which he discovered that they were in no wise connected with the Danes, to whom local tradition assigned them, but were in reality of Early British origin.

We are glad to note that during the past year there have been no great losses of members, though in common with all Antiquarians we have to mourn the loss of Sir A. WOLLASTON FRANKS, K.C.B., and Rev. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., by the hand of death, and our Council will miss Mr. A. G. LANGDON, who has resigned.

On the other hand, in Mr. HOVENDEN the Council feel that they have gained an earnest and able coadjutor, and the Congress at Conway has again brought many new members to fill up the places of old supporters. In this connection the present Editor feels that he cannot do better than quote some words of his predecessor, sincerely hoping that all our members will lay them to heart and act upon them, viz. :— " It is to the succession of new names that we must look, if the Association is to be perennial, for material aid to empower us to continue indefinitely the cherishing of the divine flame of knowledge which brought us together in the first instance, and has preserved our integrity for upwards of half a century."

H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY.

31 December 1897.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1896-97 are as follows:—1896, Nov. 4, 18; Dec. 2. 1897, Jan. 13; Feb. 3, 17; March 3, 17; April 7, 21; May 5 (Annual General Meeting), 19; June 2.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archaeological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER	
1846 GLOUCESTER	
1847 WARWICK	
1848 WORCESTER	
1849 CHESTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY	
1852 NEWARK	
1853 ROCHESTER	
1854 CHEPSTOW	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, BT., D.C.L.
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1857 NORWICH	
1858 SALISBURY	
1859 NEWBURY	
1860 SHREWSBURY	
1861 EXETER	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1862 LEICESTER	
1863 LEEDS	
1864 IPSWICH	
1865 DURHAM	
1866 HASTINGS	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1867 LUDLOW	
1868 GRENCESTER	
1869 ST. ALBAN'S	
1870 HEREFORD	
1871 WEYMOUTH	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBURY
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON	
1873 SHEFFIELD	
1874 BRISTOL	
1875 EVESHAM	
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF CARMARVON, F.S.A.
	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BT.
	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BT.
	THE EARL BATHURST
	THE LORD LYTTON
	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, BT., D.C.L.
	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE

Congresses have been already held at		Under the Presidency of
1877	LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878	WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879	YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880	DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881	GREAT MALVERN . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882	PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883	DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884	TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885	BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886	DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887	LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888	GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889	LINCOLN . . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890	OXFORD . . .	
1891	YORK . . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1892	CARDIFF . . .	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
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INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THORNTON, D.D.

(Read at the London and Home Counties Congress, September 21st, 1896.)



TWO-FOLD difficulty seems to beset one who undertakes, as I have rashly done, to inaugurate the meeting of an Archæological Society. One is, that he has among his audience a large number of those who are profoundly versed in the only subjects to which he can allude, and who will smile—quite goodnaturedly, for a real antiquary is always goodnatured—at his lamentable want of depth and breadth, whatever they may think of his length. The other is, that the general public (I do not know if there are any of that important body now present) is apt to class all antiquaries together as belonging to the Dryasdust school; or at least to put all of them on a level with Monkbarns and his “*Agricola dedicavit libens libens.*” Such critics smile, not at the speaker, but at his subject, and those whom he hopes to interest. In entering on the task assigned me—in spite of those who know too much, and care about it, and those who know too little and do not care about it—I must endeavour to

answer two questions which may naturally be put respecting any subject so introduced to notice: "What is it?" and "What use is it?"

We call ourselves an "Archæological" Association. It seems to me that the introduction of this Greek name is judicious, and prevents a misapprehension. The old name "antiquary," and the old adjective "antiquarian" (let me remark in passing that "*antiquarian*" is an adjective, though very often, most incorrectly, used instead of the proper substantive "*antiquary*") have, rightly or wrongly, come to be applied to the mere amassing of old things, and the admiration of them because they are old. The antiquarianism which is simply a delight in antiques as such is harmless enough, but is open to the depreciatory opinion which, as I have said, the non-antiquarian majority are apt to form of it, and not unfrequently to express. We are not mere collectors or inspectors of things ancient; our pursuit is rightly termed archæology, the *logos* or science of that which is old. Just as geography is now no longer the enumeration of a number of names, with a statement of their position on the map, but is a science dealing with the conformation of the earth, and the character of its various portions, considered with regard to their influence on the movements and developments of mankind; just as history is no longer confined to the recapitulation of strings of events and names, but is also a scientific consideration and classification of causes and effects, social, moral, and political; so antiquarianism has become archæology, and the antiquary has given place to the archæologist: the scientific student and classifier of things of old; and our Society is an Archæological Association. Of course, I shall not be misunderstood as being absurd enough to imply any reflection on that great society, now near two centuries old, which naturally retains its ancient name. I only mean that our more modern association has done well to adopt the more technical appellation.

Then, what is the use of archæology? Is it merely a pastime, intellectual indeed, and the reverse of frivolous, but only a pastime? No. It is the handmaid of historical science. Chronology has been termed the "eye"

of history ; on this principle archæology might be termed the “foot and head” of history. A rough distinction between the provinces of the two sciences may, I think, be expressed by saying that while history deals with what men have *done*, archæology has to do rather with what they have *made*. I am aware that the word “made” does not properly include one object of archæological study, viz., manners and customs. Still, as these are inferred from, or connected with the use of, something external, the distinction between “made” and “done” may be accepted as nearly and fairly if not absolutely correct. The knowledge of men’s physical, visible, tangible productions, and his use of them, is a wonderful aid to the study of what he has achieved, or failed to achieve, in action ; the series of facts which are steps in his progress and development—or sometimes his retrogression and degradation—from age to age. An acquaintance with the art-productions and manufactures, the war-weapons, the tools, the agricultural implements, the road-making, the architecture, the houses, the household furniture, the dress, and finally the burial-places of the men of past ages, leads to conclusions which are of the highest value in dealing with historical records. Schliemann’s researches at Troy and Mykenæ, for instance, have thrown new light upon Homer and the history of Homeric times : a suit of fourteenth-century armour gives no little help towards understanding the battles of Crecy, Neville’s Cross, and Poitiers.

We may see this clearly if we descend to more of detail.

Most important assistance is given by archæology to that branch of historical study which is termed the comparative history of religions ; so important, that many are inclined to consider the word “history” in this connection as bearing its original and older sense of “orderly research,” as in the commencement of the first book of Herodotus, or in our own phrase, “Natural History,” and to look upon the study in question as purely archæological. I do not agree with these critics : I consider the history of religions to be an inquiry into a phase of human development, the various distortions by various classes

of thinkers of the one primeval and unwritten revelation of God. And here the archæologist is a valuable helper—if not historian himself—in collecting and classifying the different objects which tell of the religious beliefs and religious terrors of ages now gone by. We know how and what Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, feared and worshipped : and India, Polynesia, Australia, Mexico, Peru, contribute to our knowledge of the varied ways in which humanity has contemplated the Supreme.

In the right understanding of the one true religion, the written revelation and its records, archæology plays no inconsiderable part. The antiquary's research among the written and painted and sculptured remains of great nations of old, has been of inestimable value in the testimony it has borne to the truthfulness of our sacred books, and, I may add, in its correction of erroneous fancies, not on the part of their opponents only, but also of their upholders. For instance, it was imagined, not so very long ago, that the Hebrew people were, for a considerable time, all but savages in a land of savagery ; that they and their neighbours were almost entirely devoid of art, of writing, of all that we term civilization. The archæologist has shown us the reverse. They were a cultivated people, and those with whom they came in contact were cultivated too. Hittite, and Canaanite, and Jebusite were far from being unkempt barbarians ; and Akkadians and Sumerians had a literature of their own, long before Sheikh Abraham led his people southwards beyond the stream of the Phrat. The archæology of later times is still the handmaid of sacred history. The study of Christian antiquities is not only useful, but, I should say, essential to the true interpretation of the New Testament, and of the uninspired documents belonging to our religion, considered as bearing upon the history of that religion.

If we turn to secular history, we find the archæologist still one of its most valuable and trustworthy friends and seconders. No doubt, where we have clearly-written records left us, his services are not so conspicuously important. He is, however, a good helper, and often aids the historian in elucidating some point of difficulty: Greek

and Roman antiquities help to explain Thucydides and Livy. In the absence of written records the archaeologist and historian are one. Not to mention such as Herodotus (whose histories are half antiquarian), and in later times Diodorus and Ælian (who is an antiquary pure and simple), where would our Egyptian history now be without the researches—the antiquarian researches—of Bruce, Young, Champollion, Samuel Birch, Wilkinson, Lepsius, De Rougé, Lenormant, Petrie? All these are archaeologists rather than historians; but without them our early Egyptian history would have been confined to a few notices in Scripture, a book of Herodotus, and, *valeat quantum*, Manetho. Seti, Menephtah, and Thothmes would have been all but unknown. So Assyrian and Babylonian history is due to the antiquaries Rich, Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, Rassam; their archaeology has led to the combined historical and archaeological achievements of Sayce and Maspero. It is archaeology which aids history in dealing with the extinct civilizations, as well as the religions, of Peru and Mexico; furnishing the data on which to found the conclusions to be drawn as to the development of humanity in the far West. We hope for a little more light to help us to a history of the Etruscans, fuller than what Isaac Taylor has as yet been able to give us. Some day perhaps materials will be forthcoming for filling up the sadly blank pages of the history of Carthage. We may be sure that in this the archaeologist will be the historian's trusty assistant; and that a Punic Layard will be at the side of a Punic Gibbon, to tell the full story of the rise, the decline, and the fall of the Empress of the Seas.

It is not, however, with the history of other races and of distant lands that our British Association is solely, or even chiefly, concerned. We have to deal especially with the antiquities of our own land and our own kindred. Here, too, the archaeologist is at the historian's side. Keltic, Kymric, Romano-British, Scandinavian, Saxon-Anglian relics afford a wide field for scientific study, and tell us tales of the ways and habits of our forefathers which are deeply interesting to us in themselves, and illustrate marvellously what the historian finds in old

chronicles and records. In this province, however, more than in any other, archæology and history interlace and interpenetrate one another. This is especially true of that later period in which we approach the mystic number of fifteen centuries, which is supposed to separate the mediæval from the modern. The archæologist of the fourteenth century becomes merged in the historian.

We find, on the other hand, a department of archæology in which the student is neither identified with, nor an assistant to, the historian. I mean, that which is concerned with the periods called Prehistoric. Here the antiquary is the pioneer. His researches may result in history; they at all events lead towards it. Here in our own lands—whatever conclusions a De la Beche, or a Pengelly, or a MacEnery may draw from the contents of Kent's cavern, from cave-bears' and hyænas' bones, and mammoths' teeth, and roughly-cut or smoothly-cut flints embedded in stalagmite—archæology has proved, as a matter of history, a fact concerning the earlier inhabitants of this country. A comparison of the remains of habitations found on Dartmoor and elsewhere, especially in Scotland, with similar erections made, and occasionally still made, by Laps and Fins, lead to the conclusion that our early history does not begin with the Aryan Kelts, but that an earlier Turanian race preceded them. How they disappeared before the Kelts—whether by the method adopted now by a monarch, supposed to be civilized, when he wishes to rid himself of an obnoxious tribe, viz., that of massacre, or whether they gradually vanished before a superior race, like the Red men in Newfoundland, or the Guanches in the Canaries, or whether the brachycephalic was absorbed by the dolichocephalic—we cannot now say; but the archæologist tells the historian that there they were, and that Kelts overcame them; to retire in their turn before those German tribes, fusion with whom has given rise to the truly historic race to which we belong.

This study of the primeval antiquities of our own country is, naturally enough, extremely fascinating to us. One branch of it I wish to commend to the Association, as I am not aware that it has ever been deeply

gone into ; I mean the search for Pre-Keltic names. It seems to me highly probable that many of our names of places, which cannot be explained as forms or corruptions either of Teutonic or Keltic words, may be legacies left us by the vanished predecessors of the Kelts, and might be identified among Ugrian or Tschudic roots. I venture to suggest this work as likely to be interesting to a philological antiquary, and perhaps to lead to results which may be valuable to the scientific historian.

The Address was concluded as follows :—

Before concluding, and thanking you for the kind manner in which you have listened to me, I must call your attention from far-off ages to affairs of the present week. First, I commend to you most heartily the interesting excursions and visits arranged (as you will see in the programme) for every day in the week. Rahere's Church of St. Bartholomew, the Charterhouse, the Temple, Lambeth, in London and its neighbourhood ; St. Albans, Hatfield, Maidstone, Rochester, Waltham Abbey, will most instructively and—if weather permits—most pleasantly, occupy six afternoons ; while the evenings will be devoted to the reading and discussion of papers. These will be given at the Guildhall, with the exception of one of special interest on Old London (Pre-Roman), which will be read by Dr. Phené, on Wednesday evening (23rd), at a reception to be given by the Clothworkers' Company at their Hall in Mincing Lane.

Then I must ask you to offer your grateful thanks to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London for the welcome they have accorded to the Association, for the substantial assistance they have given towards the necessary expenditure, and for the use of the Guildhall for our evening meetings. I am quite sure that you feel the gratitude I ask you to express to his Lordship for making these meetings feasible ; and that your grateful feeling will be redoubled after we have passed, as I am confident we shall pass, a week of profoundly interesting occupation and converse.





ST. UNCUMBER IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. DR. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, F.S.A.

(Read during the London Congress.)



ON the 16th of July 1538, one George Robynson writes to Lord Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, informing him that he had paid a visit to "Powlles", and that he had found there Saint "Uncumber standing in her old place and state, with her gay gown and silver shoes on, and a woman kneeling before her at 11 o'clock to God's dishonour". And he adds, that "if the King puts them [that is, the images] all away, he will have the blessing that King Josias had".¹

There is also preserved in the Record Office a letter from Sir Richard Gresham to Lord Cromwell, dated 29th August 1538, in which mention is made of the taking down of certain images in St. Paul's Cathedral. The letter is addressed :

"To the Right Hon'ble and his Synguler goode lorde my lorde privy seale.

"Myn humble diewty to your good Lordeship."²

After treating of matters which do not concern our present paper, he proceeds :

"By Doctor Barnes I haue percevyd your mynde consernynge the ymages in Powlles, and by hys advyse, I sent vnto the Busshope of Chichester, beyng Deane, and shewyd him what commandement I hade for to take downe the sayd ymages, and he sent me aunsswer that he wolde see yt doon the same nyght, beyng the xxij daye of

¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1538.* Vol. xiii, pt. 1, No. 1393.

² From the original in the Record Office. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1538, art. 209.*

August: and in the mornynge I went to Powlles, and ther I dyd see that alle thynges was doon accordyngly.

"My lorde, ther ys ij [payre of, *erased*] Stayres that goithe upe to a hawle passe¹ ther as the Roode dyd stande, with ij awters and other thynges to sett candylles upeon, and yf the sayd stayres and hawle passe wher taken awaye I doo suppose it shalle be wele doon. Your pleasser herein.

* * * * *

"I shalle praye to god to sende you goode healthe w^t longe lyve. From London the xxix of August.

"Your owne of your Lordshipes commandment,

"RICHARD GRESHAM."

The "Busshope of Chichester", who took this remarkably prompt action, was Richard Sampson, Dean of St. Paul's from 1536 till 1540, Bishop of Chichester from 1536 to March 1542-3, when he was translated to Coventry and Lichfield.²

Dr. Barnes is named in a letter from Bishop Barlow to Cromwell, in the *Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*.³

Sir Richard Gresham was the Lord Mayor. From the conclusion of his letter, omitted above, it appears that he sought to place one of his sons in the King's service; a circumstance which may possibly have had some connection with his prompt action in the matter of the images.

A brief reference to the same subject is found in Wriothesley's *Chronicle*,⁴ under date 24th August 1538.

"Allso, this yeaere, on Bartlemewe even, the roode of the north doore in Paules was taken downe by the Dean of the same church, which was the Bishop of Chichester, by the King's commandement, because the people should doe noe more idolatry to the sayd image, and the image of Saint Uncumber also in the same church."

A further historical reference to the image of the saint is found in "A Brief Diary, written apparently by some citizen of London, *temp.* Hen. VII and Hen. VIII" (from *MS. Vespasian. A. xxv*), edited by Mr. Clarence Hopper in 1859 for the Camden Society.

¹ A hawle passe: that is, a platform.

² He died at Eccleshall, 25th Sept. 1554.

³ P. 183. (Camden Society.)

⁴ Vol. i, p. 84. (Camden Society.)

"M. Gressam, mayir.

"Then was the Rood of Norther and Saynt Uncumbur, that stode in Polles many yeris, takyn down, and Our Lady of Grace that had stond in Polles many yers."

"M. Roche, mayir.

"That yere was take down ye loft in Polles, where yn stode ye Roode of Northor, and Saynt Artnolles schryne in Polles, and Saynt Edwardes schryne at West^r."

The Editor of the *Chronicle* suggests that Saint Artnolle is S. Erkenwald. In the original MS., over the word Northor, another hand has written *Northdore*. M. Gressam is, of course, Sir Richard Gresham, Mayor in 1537; and M. Roche is Sir William Roche, Mayor in 1540.

St. Uncumber frequently makes her appearance in the literature of the Reformation period; and it may be well to give a few instances of the recurrence of her name, before attempting to answer the question "Who was this little-known saint?"

In the *Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lorde Chancellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge*, is "a Dialogue concernynge heresydes and matters of religion made in the yere of Oure Lorde M.D.XXVIII by Sir Thomas More", in which "the messenger obiecteth manye thinges against pilgrimages & reliques & worshipping of saintes, because of much supersticious maner vsed therein, & unfeleful peticiōs asked of them, & harme growing therupō". Space can only be found for a portion of this very interesting dialogue.¹

"What say we then, quod he, of the harme that goeth by goinge of pylgrimages, roylng aboute in ydlenes, with the riot, reuelling, and rybawdry, glotony, wantonnes, wast and lecheri? Trowe ye that God and his holy saītes had not leuer thei syt styl at home, then thus to come seke them, with such worshipfull seruice? Yes surely, quod I. What say we then, quod he, to y^t I spake not of yet, in which we doo them littell worship while we set euery saint to hys office and assigne him a craft suche as pleaseth vs? Saint Loy we make an horseleche, & must let our horse rather renne vnsod & marre his hoofe, thā to shooe him on his daye,

¹ Printed at London in 1557. There is a copy in the British Museum [G. 2423]. The passage is taken from "The seconde boke, The 10 chapter", p. 194.

which we must for y^t point more religiously kepe hygh & holy then Ester day. And because one smith is to fewe at a forge, we set saynt Ipolitus to helpe hym. And on saint Steph^{ns} day we must let al our horses bloud with a knife, because saynt Stephen was killed with stones. Sainet Apoline we make a toth drawer, & may speke to her of nothing but of sore teth. Saint Sythe women set to seke theyr keyes. Saint Roke we sette to see to the great sykenes, bycause he had a sore.¹ And with hym they ioine saint Sebastian, bycause he was martired w^t arrowes. Some serue for the eye onely. And some for a sore brest. Saint Germaine onely for chyl dren. And yet wyll he not ones loke at thē, but if the mother bring with thē a white lofe and a pot of good ale. And yet is he wiser then saint Wilgefote, for she, good soule, is as thei saye serued and content with otes. Wherof I cā not perceiue the reason, but if it be bicause she should prouide an horse for an euyl housbonde to ryde to the deuyll vpon, for that is the thyng that she is so sought for as they saie. In so much that women hathe therefore chaunged her name, and in stede of saint Wilgefote call her saynt Vncumber, bicause they reken that for a peeke of Otes she will not faile to Vncomber them of their housebondes."

Ten years later, in 1538, in Bishop Bale's *Interlude concerning the Three Lawes of Nature, Moses, and Christ*,² "Naturæ lex corrupta", who is one of the personages in the play, speaks as follows :—

"If you cannot slepe, but slumber,
Geve otes unto saynt Uncumber,
And beanes in a serten number
Vnto saynt Blase and saynt Blythe.

Geve onyons to saynt Cutlake,
And garlyke to saynt Cyryake,
If ye wyll shurne the head ake,
Ye shall haue them at quene hythe."

Perhaps Bishop Bale was thinking of Garlick Hythe, but the exigencies of metre demanded a monosyllable. Probably saynt Cutlake is Saint Guthlac.

¹ St. Roch has not lost his ancient reputation. This year, 1896, I bought at Graville a little medal, recently struck, which has on one side a figure of the saint in the habit of a pilgrim, with the inscription, "St. Roch preservez nous du choléra". On the reverse is the figure of St. Hubert.

² There is a copy in the British Museum (C. 34, A. 12). The title is lost, but the first page commences, "A comedye concernynge thre lawes. Compyled by Johan Bale", printed in 1538. The passage quoted is in Actus Secundus.

The same vehement controversialist, in his *Image of both Churches*, writes :

"Here were much to be spoken of S. Germain's evil, S. Sike's key, S. Vncomber's oats, Master John Shorne's boot, S. Gertrude's rats, . . . S. Fiare for the ague, S. Apolline for the toothache, S. Gratian for lost thrift, S. Walstone for good harvest, S. Cornelis for the foul evil, and all other saints else almost."¹

In 1544 one Michael Wodde—if that be the author's real name—makes mention of the saint. His book is so little known, that it seems worth while to give an exact transcript of the title.

"A Dialogve or familiar talke betwene two neighbours, cōcernyng the chyefest ceremonyes, that were by the mighti power of Gods most holie pure worde, suppressed in Englande, and nowe for vnworthines, set vp agayne by the Bishoppes, the impes of Antichrist: right learned, profitable, and pleasaunt to be read, for the comfort of weake cōsciences in these troublous daies.

"Read first, and then iudge.

"From Roane, by Michael Wodde the. .xx. of February, Anno, Domi. M.D.L.III."²

This exceedingly rare little volume contains "A talke betwene Olyuer a professour of the Gospell, and Nicholas noseled in the blynde superstitions."

In the passage now to be quoted, Oliver is the speaker. He makes mention of—

"Our famous idols, at Ipswiche, at Walsingham, at Caunterburye, at Hayles, at Dunstable, and eury where."³

Oliver then proceeds to catechise Nicholas pretty severely.

"Who could .xx. yeares agone saye the Lordes praier in English? Who could tell anye one article his faith? Who had once heard of any of the .x. commaundements? Who wist what Cathechisme ment? Who vnderstoode anye point of the holye baptisme? As for the Lordes supper, no man euer knew, whither ther were ani suche thynges or no. Yf we were sycke of the pestylence, we run to sainte Rooke, if of the ague to Saint Pernel, or Master John Shorne. If men were in prisō, thei praied to saint Leonarde. If

¹ Bale, *Image of both Churches*. Parker Society, chap. xvii, p. 498.

² A copy is in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. Press mark [xxx. 8. 20. (9).]

³ Signature C. ii. b.

the Welch man wold haue a pursse, he praied to Darvel Gatherne. If a wife wer weary of her husband she offred otes at Poules at Londō, to S. Uncumber. Thus haue we bene deluded with their images.”¹

A little later on the dialogue continues :

“*Oliue.* Cannest thou saye the Lordes praier ?

“*Nich.* Nay, nor our Ladies neither. I can say mi Pater Noster.

“*Oliu.* What is Pater Noster ?

“*Nich.* Mary, Pater Noster : What eā ye make of it ?

“*Oliuer.* But why haue you not learned the Lordes praier in English al this while ?

“*Nic.* Sir Jhō bade me kepe to mi old pater noster, for he said the newe wold not abide alway. And nowe I see he is a true man.”²

The passage has been quoted by many writers,³ but has now been carefully collated with the original.

That invaluable storehouse of curious information, *Notes and Queries*, supplies an illustration of the offering of oats to an image from a rare poem ascribed to Henry Bradshaw, and printed by Pynson :⁴

“Among all myracles after our intelligence
Whiche Radegunde shewed by her humilite,
One is moost vsuall had in experience
Among the common people noted with hert fre
By offeryng of otes after theyr degre
At her lady aulters where myracles in sight
Dayly haue be done by grace day and nyght.

“By oblation of othes, halt lame and blynde
Hath ben restored vnto prosperite ;
Dombe men to speke aboue cours of kynde
Sicke men delyuered from payne and miserie,
Maydens hath kept theyr pure virginite,
Wyddowes defended from greuous oppression,
And clerkes exalted by her to promociōn.”

The oaten offerings appear to connect St. Rhadegund with St. Uncumber. The legend of St. Rhadegund

¹ Signature C. ii. b. iii. a.

² Signature C. 8.

³ In Christopher Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, fourth ed., 8vo, London, 1853, vol. i, p. 310 ; in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 8vo, Lond., 1853, vol. i, p. 359 ; in *Notes and Queries*, series i, vol. i, p. 287 ; and in other places.

⁴ There is a copy of the poem in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge.—*Notes and Queries*, ser. i, vol. iii, p. 404.

affirms that once, when closely pursued, a crop of oats sprang up miraculously and concealed her from her followers.

The learned editor of *Notes and Queries*, Mr. W. J. Thoms, editor when that valuable publication first made its welcome appearance, supplies yet another allusion to the saint,¹ in the words :

"And the commending himselfe to the tuition of S. Uncumber, or els our blessed Lady."

The reference given is Harsenet's *Discoverie*, etc., p. 134: the book referred to is :

"A Discovery of the Fraudulent practises of John Darrel Bachelor of Artes in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham, etc. London. Imprinted by John Wolfe. 1599."²

The Epistle to the Reader is signed S. H., and the writer was Samuel Harsnet, successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and Archbishop of York. The present writer not having been fortunate enough to find the passage, though he has looked through the 324 pages of which the book is composed, was led to suspect a wrong reference, and, at the suggestion of a friend, found the passage in

"A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to with-draw the *harts of Her Maiesties Subiects from their* allegiance, and from the truth of Christian Religion *professed in England, vnder the pretence of* casting out deuils.

"Practised by Edmynnds, alias *Weston* a Iesuit, and diuers Romish Priests his wicked associates . . . At London. Printed by Iames Roberts, dwelling in Barbican. 1603."³

The preface addressed "To the Sedvced *Catholiques* of England" is signed, "Yours in Christ S. H." The whole passage is full of interest,⁴ from its allusions to many superstitions of our forefathers.

"How were our children, old women, and maides afraid to crosse a Churchyard, or a three-way lect, or to goe for spoones into the

¹ *Notes and Queries*, series 1, vol. ii, p. 342.

² A copy in the British Museum. Press mark [719. d. 7].

³ A copy in the British Museum (8630. e), quarto.

⁴ Pp. 134, 135.

Kitchen without a candle? and no merueile. First, because the deuil comes from a smoakie blacke house, he, or a lewd frier was still at hand, with ougly hornes on his head, fire in his mouth, a coves tayle in his breech, eyes like a bason, fangs like a dogge, clawes like a Beare, a skinne like a Neger, and a voyce roaring like a Lyon; then *boh*, or *oh*, in the dark was enough to make their haire stand vpright. And if that the bowl of curds and creame were not duly set out for *Robin good-fellow* the Frier, and *Sisse* the dairy-maide, to meete at *hinch pinch*, and *laugh not*, when the good wife was a bed, why then, either the pottage was burnt to next day in the pot, or the cheese would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat would neuer haue good head. But if a Peeter-penny, or an houzle-egge were behind, or a patch of tyth vnpaid to the Church (*Iesu Maria*) the ware where you walke for feare of *bull-beggars*, *spirits*, *witches*, *reehins*, *Elues*, *hags*, *fairies*, *satyrs*, *Pans*, *Faunes*, *Syluans*, *Kit with the candlestick*, *Tritons*, *Centauris*, *Dearciffs*, *Giants*, *impes*, *Calcars*, *coniurors*, *Nymphs*, *changlings*, *scritchowles*, *Incubus the spurne*, *the mare*, *the man in the oake*, *helwayne*, *the fire drake*, *the puckle*, *Tom thumbe*, *hobgoblin*, *Tom-tumbler*, *Boneles*, and the rest!¹ and what girl, boy, or old wisard would be so hardy to step ouer the threshold in the night for an halfpenny worth of mustard amongst this frightful crue, without a dozen *anemaries*, two dozen of crosses surely signed, and halfe a dozen Pater nosters, and the commending himselfe to the tuition of S. Vncumber, or els our blessed Lady."

A few words, by way of glossary, seem necessary to render the passage intelligible. A Bull-beggar is a hobgoblin; an urehin, a fairy or spirit; calcars are astrologers; Incubus the spurne, an evil spirit; Helwayne, a supernatural waggon seen in the sky at night; the fire drake is either a fiery dragon or meteor; Boneless, a kind of ghost; Puckle, probably the same as Puck. (See Ritson's *Essay on Fairies*, p. 45 quoting Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584.)

It would appear from the words "commending *himselfe* to the tuition of S. Vncumber" that the saint was venerated by men as well as by women.

But perhaps the most interesting of all the references to St. Uncumber is that furnished by John Heywood, in his curious play, "The Four PP". Here is the title of what is believed to be the earliest edition :

¹ Marginal note : "See Scot's book of Witches."

“¶ The playe called the four PP.

“¶ A newe and a very mery enterlude of

A palmer.

A pardoner.

A potycary.

A pedler.

“Made by John Heewood.”

The colophon reads thus :

“¶ Imprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the George by Wylliam Myddylton.”¹

The play opens with a long speech by the Palmer; in which he enumerates a great many places of pilgrimage which he had visited. He had been to Hierusalem, to the Mount of Caluery, to Josophat and Olyuete, to Rome.

“Then at the Rodes also I was
And rounde about to Amyas
At saynt Toncomber and saynt Tronion
At saynt Bothulph and saynt Anne of Buckston
On the hylles of Armony where I see Noes arke
With holy Job and saynt George in Suthwarke
At Waltam and at Walsyngam
And at the good rode of dagnam
At saynt Comelys at saynt James in Gales
And at saynt Wynefyrydes well in Walles
At our lady of Boston and at saynt Edmundes byry
And streyght to saynt Patrykes purgatory
At rydybone and at the blood of Hayles
Where pylgrymes paynes ryght much auayles
At saynt Dauys and at saynt Denis
At saynt Mathew and saynt Marke in Venis
At Mayster Johan Shorne at Canterbury
The great god of Katewade at Kynge Henry
At saynt Sauyours at our lady of Southwell
At saynt Rycharde and at saynt Roke
And at our lady that standeth in the Oke
To these with other many one
Deuotly haue I prayed and gone.”

But it is high time to attempt to answer the question,
“Who was St. Uncumber?”

And here the inquirer is met by a preliminary difficulty. Surely never was any saint designated by such a perplexing and copious variety of names!

¹ British Museum. Press mark [C. 34. c. 43].

Thus, Father Cahier¹ says, that in the North :

“le nom de Liberata donné à la sainte à cause de la façon dont le Ciel l'avait débarrassée du mariage, la fit appeler à peu près sainte Débarras. Cela est devenu en Allemagne: Ohnkummer, Ohnkummernuss, Kummernis, Kummernissa, Sancte-Gehulf. En Flandre: Ontcommera, Onkommerra, Ontcommene, Regenflégis, Regnufledis. En Angleterre: Sainte Uncumber. En France: Sainte Livrade. Et en différents pays, pour les livres liturgiques, Liberata, Liberatrix, Eutropia, etc.

“Par suite de cette dénomination, était venue en Angleterre l'idée que la sainte pouvait être particulièrement secourable aux femmes qui voulaient se débarrasser de leurs maris. *La Revue Britannique* (Janvier, 1852, p. 231), a consacré quelques détails à cette singulière dévotion Anglaise et à la légende primitive.”

The Bollandist fathers devote no less than twenty folio pages of the *Acta Sanctorum* to the history and legend of St. Uncumber.² At the very outset they acknowledge the difficulty of their task :

“De Sancta in titulo proposita acturus vastum ingredior labyrinthum, qui tot tamque variis semitarum amfractibus est implexus, ut mihi vix ullum ex eo exitum promittere ausim.”

It seems, indeed, an almost hopeless labour to attempt to unravel the tangled thread of this strange story; it will be enough to give a few of its salient features.

Seldom, surely (as has been said already), has any saint been known to her worshippers by so many names : names so various, so dissimilar. In many places in Belgium she is called St. Liberata, or Wilgefortis, and in the vernacular Oncommerra, or Ontcommena; which Flemish words are said to have some affinity with the Latin Liberata. Others, in Belgium, not satisfied with these four names, call her Liberatrix, Eutropia, Regnufledis, or Regenflégis. They agree, however, in saying that this “polyonyma Sancta” was the daughter of a King of Lusitania.

In France, in the days of Charlemagne, she was known

¹ *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'Art populaire; énumérées et expliquées par le P. Ch. Cahier, de la Compagnie de Jésus.* 4to, Paris, 1867, p. 121.

² *Acta Sanctorum.* De S. Liberata alias Wilgeforte Virgine et Martyre. July 20, pp. 50-70.

as Sainte Livrade : at least it seems not unlikely that this is the same person. To determine that question, say the Bollandists, "Hoc opus, hic labor est". If these learned men find the question so difficult, we must be content to leave it in their hands, together with the mass of puzzles and perplexities by which the whole question is surrounded.

Her cult extends over Belgium, France, Spain, Bavaria, and many other countries. In Bavaria and Helvetia she is called Kumernus ; or in Latin, Kummernissa ; in Germany, Ohnkummernus ; in Brabant, Oncommerspolder ; at Muringen, Cumerana ; in England, Wilgefortis, Wilfordis, or Uncumber ; in Normandy, Dignefortis, Wilgefortis, or Virgofortis.

But this string of names will weary the most patient reader. Nor would the long excursus as to the number of saints called Liberata be much more interesting. The legends will, it is hoped, be more pleasant reading.

In Brussels, "in Virginis auxiliatricis sacello", the relics of our saint were preserved as late as 1695, in a shrine on which there was a Flemish inscription, which, translated into Latin, ran thus :

"Hic Sanctæ Ontcommere quiescunt Reliquiæ, hydropicis curandis patronæ aptæ."

But the shrine (and its contents) seems to have been destroyed in a great conflagration in the year just indicated.

The Bollandists go on to say that in the Sarum *Enchiridion*, printed at Paris in 1533 by Germanus Hardouyn, her name, together with those of saints Sitha, Fredeswida, and Wenefreda, is found in the Litany of the Saints. Here is the Antiphon for St. Wilgefortis from this interesting volume :—

"Ave, sancta famula, Wilgefortis, Christi,
Quæ ex tota anima Christum dilexisti,
Dum Regis Siciliæ nuptias sprevisti ;
Crucifixo Domino fidem præbueris.
Jussu patris carceris tormenta subisti,
Crevit barba facie, quod obtinuisti

A Christo pro munere, quod sibi voluisti,
 Te volentes nubere sibi confudisti.
 Videns pater impius te sic deformatam
 Elevavit arius¹ in cruce paratam,
 Ubi cum virtutibus reddidisti gratam
 Animam quantocius, Christo commendatam.
 Quia devotis laudibus tuam memoriam, virgo
 recolimus,

O beata Wilgefortis, ora pro nobis, quæsumus.

V. Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis.

R. Propterea benedixit te Deus in æternum."

Oremus.

"Familiam tuam, quæsumus, Domine, beatæ Wilgefortis virginis et martyris tuæ, regis filiæ, meritis et precibus propitius respice; et sicut ad preces ipsius barbam, quam concupivit, sibi cœlitus accrescere fecisti; ita desideria cordis nostri supernæ gratiæ digneris beneficiis augmentare. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen."²

To which may be added that in the "Prymer off Salysburye vse", printed by Thielman Kerver at Paris in 1533 (Colophon, 1532), there occurs in the Litany,³ the petition:

"Sancta Wilgefortis ora."

There are many variants of the legend of St. Uncumber. That which follows is an attempt to give a brief story of her life, disregarding these variants: an unhistorical method, it must be admitted, but probably adequate to the subject.

Wilgefortis was the daughter of a certain King of Portugal, a heathen, engaged in war against the King of Sicily. The latter, after the contest had been carried on for a long period, made good his entry into the domains of the King of Portugal, who was unable to resist his powerful opponent. His nobles proposed that, by way of attaining peace, he should give his daughter in marriage to the King of Sicily.

¹ Lege *acrius* vel *ocius*.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 64, column 1.

³ On fol. cxlii. b.

The Kings agreed upon this happy solution of the troubles. But an unexpected difficulty arose. The result of their agreement was communicated to the Virgin Princess, who absolutely refused her consent to the arrangement, saying, that she would be the bride of none, save only of The Crucified. The Kings were sorely perplexed—as men have been before and since by the obstinacy of womenkind—and they resolved to try the effect of close imprisonment to break her stubborn spirit. In her prison, she prayed earnestly that she might be enabled to carry out her intention of devoting herself to a religious life ; and that, to that end, it would please heaven to send her some bodily disfigurement which should make her no longer pleasant in the eyes of men. Her prayer was heard, and she became bearded like a man. Her father, bitterly incensed, accused her of having practised magical arts ; but she replied that this beard had been sent her by The Crucified that she might preserve her virginity. The word suggested an awful alternative, for the father said, That unless she would deny The Crucified and worship the Gods whom he adored, she should herself be crucified. The cruel sentence was carried out to the very letter, and the intrepid virgin died upon a cross, praying for her murderers with her latest breath.

The *Acta Sanctorum* supplies three pictured illustrations of St. Wilgefort, that is, St. Uncumber.

1. An altar upon which a chalice is standing. Above the altar a large cross, to which is affixed a life-size figure of St. Wilgefort vested in a long robe, reaching nearly to the feet, a crown upon her head, the beard and moustache clearly seen. The effigy resembles that of a man so closely that it might easily be mistaken for an ordinary crucifix figure. On the dexter side a kneeling man plays upon a violin : on the altar lies a shoe which has fallen from the left foot of St. Wilgefort. The legend illustrated is this : a certain musician had been unjustly condemned to death. He fled for protection to the image of the saint, who at once demonstrated his innocence by shaking off one of her silver shoes. This is a Belgian picture. (Fig. 1.)

2. The second woodcut (fig. 2) displays the crucified figure of the saint, without the beard, an undoubtedly feminine figure. The hands are pierced, but in the attitude of benediction. The holy dove hovers above the dexter arm of the cross. Below is the inscription :

S. WILGEFORTIS *alias* ONTCOMMENE.

This is from an ancient Beguinage near Malines ; but

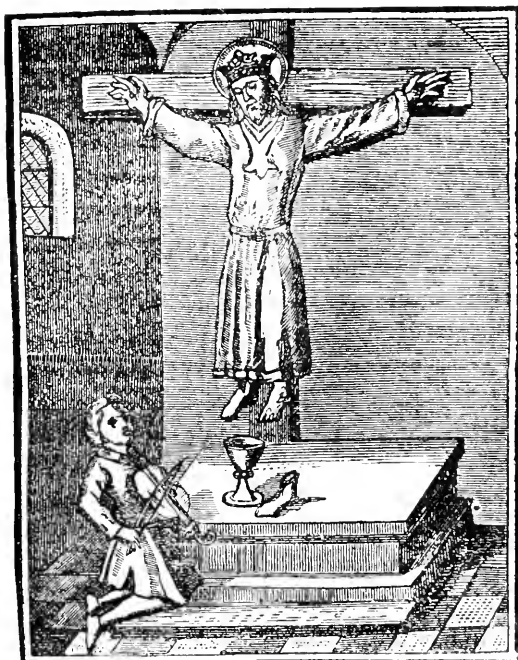


Fig. 1.

in the sixteenth century, during the troubles, it was brought into Malines, where the figure was commonly called

VIRGO AEGROTANTIUM.

3. The third figure (fig. 3) seems to have been set up at Prague by a merchant, who was by birth a Belgian. The saint had hitherto been unknown in Bohemia, and a good deal of surprise was excited when the picture or effigy was first erected. The crucified virgin wears a crown, her

hands are in benediction, the beard is not seen in the woodcut, though it is mentioned in the descriptive letter-press, and the figure is fully vested in a very richly embroidered gown extending widely at the feet, and adorned with "ropes of pearls". At her left kneels the



Fig. 2.

musician playing on his fiddle, and the shoe fallen from her left foot is seen beside him. The figure was adorned with precious gems. Below it is a chronogram, giving the date of the erection of the effigy :

DIVA WILGEFORTIS, ALITER LIBERATA
SPONSA IESU, VIRGO, ET MARTIR.

The Baron de Blun, writing in the year 1686 to Pape-

brochius, speaks of the *elegans sacellum*, erected by the Capuchin Fathers, in which this effigy was displayed to public veneration: and he adds, that this sacred image was to be seen in many other places of the kingdom, and



Fig. 3.

that he himself had seen it in many churches in Germany under the name of St. Kummernis.

A writer in *Notes and Queries*¹ states that a sixteenth-century figure of St. Uncumber is still to be seen in St. Etienne's church at Beauvais, near the west end of the south wall. It is described in Joanne's *Géographie de*

¹ *Notes and Queries*, series VIII, vol. x, p. 78.

l'Oise, p. 44, as "une Sainte Wilgeforte ou Milforte (vierge crucifiée et représentée avec une barbe épaisse) qui parait n'être chose qu'un crucifix du XII^e siècle."

And here may well be introduced Father Cahier's very curious theory about the effigy of the saint. It is worth while to reproduce his own words.¹

"Pour moi je penche à croire que cette couronne, cette barbe, cette robe et cette croix qui ont été prises pour les insignes d'une princesse miraculée, ne sont qu'un détournement de la piété envers le célèbre crucifix de Lucques. On sait que la dévotion à cette image de Jésus-Christ crucifié était fort répandue au XII^e siècle ; si bien que le roi d'Angleterre Guillaume le Roux, jurait volontiers par le *saint Voult de Lucques*. Or ce fameux crucifix, comme plusieurs autres de ces temps-là, est entièrement vêtu et couronné. A distance de temps et de lieu, le long vêtement aura fait penser à une femme, et la barbe lui aura valu la qualification de Vierge forte. Ajoutons que le crucifix de Lucques ayant été chaussé en argent pour obvier à la détérioration que ses pieds pouvaient subir sous les baisers des nombreux pèlerins, cette circonstance nouvelle aura tourné encore à la plus grande gloire de sainte Wilgeforte. On a dit qu'un pauvre ménétrier étant venu jouer un air devant la statue de la sainte, en avait été récompensé par une de ses riches pantoufles. Ce prodige, prêté aussi à un pèlerinage de la très-sainte Vierge, a tout l'air d'être né au sanctuaire du *Santo Volto di Lucca*, d'où il aura fait son chemin à travers les pays slaves et germaniques."

Certainly the Lucca crucifix supplied William Rufus with his favourite oath. Mr. Freeman relates a highly characteristic example of the Red King's use of it.²

"We must picture to ourselves the Royal headquarters, between the height of Avranches and the sands of Saint Michael's Bay. The King goes forth from his tent, and mounts the horse which he had that morning bought for fifteen marks of silver. He sees the enemy at a distance riding proudly towards him. Alone, waiting for no comrade, borne on both by eagerness of the fray and by the belief that no one would dare to withstand a King face to face, he gallops forward and charges the advancing party. The newly-bought horse is killed ; the King falls under him ; he is ignominiously dragged along by the foot, but the strength of his chain-armour saves him from any actual wound. By this time, the knight who had unhorsed him has his hand on the hilt of his

¹ *Caractéristiques*, pp. 121, 122.

² Freeman, *Reign of William Rufus*, vol. i, p. 289.

sword, ready to deal a deadly blow. William, frightened by the extremity of his danger, cries out, 'Hold, rascal: I am the King of England!'—'*Tolle, nebulo, Rex Angliæ sam!*'¹ The words had that kind of magic effect which is so often wrought by the personal presence of royalty The soldiers of Henry tremble at the thought of what they were so near doing; with all worship they raise the King from the ground, and bring him another horse. William springs unaided on his back; he casts a keen glance on the band around him, and asks, 'Who unhorsed me?'. As they were muttering one to another, the daring man who had done the deed came forward and said, 'I, who took you not for a King but for a Knight.' A bold answer was never displeasing to Rufus. He looked approval, and said, 'By the Face of Lucca,² you shall be mine. Your name shall be written in my book, and you shall receive the reward of good service'.

Some interesting particulars about the *cultus* of St. Uncumber are given in Miss Eckenstein's *Women under Monasteries*:

"The image of her which is preserved in North Holland is said to have come floating down the river. At Regensburg, in Bavaria, an image is preserved which is said to have been cast into the water at Neufarn. It was carried down by the river and thrown on the bank, and the Bishop fetched it to Regensburg on a car drawn by oxen. In the Tyrol the image of the Saint is sometimes hung in the chief bedroom of the house in order to secure a fruitful marriage; but often, too, it is hung in chapel and cloister in order to protect the dead. Images of the Saint are preserved and venerated in a great number of churches in Bavaria and the Tyrol, but the ideas popularly associated with them have raised feelings in the church against their cult. We hear that a Franciscan friar, in the beginning of this century, destroyed one of the images, and that the Bishop of Augsburg, in 1883, attempted in one instance to do away with the image and the veneration of the saint, but refrained from carrying out his intention, being afraid of the anger of the people."³

The same writer gives, with some little variation, the story of the musician who is represented as kneeling at the feet of the miraculous image. According to this

¹ William of Malmesbury, iv, 309.

² On this particular oath, see also Appendix G in Mr. Freeman's book.

³ Lina Eckenstein, *Women under Monasteries*, p. 37, referring to Sloet. *De heilige Ontkommer of Wylgeforthis*, 1881, pp. 31, 33, 36, 42, etc.

version, the musician was sitting "at the foot of the image, and was playing on his fiddle, when the crucified saint suddenly awoke to life, drew off a slipper and flung it to him. He took it away with him, but he was accused of having stolen it, and was condemned to death. His accusers, however, acceded to his request to come with him into the presence of the holy image, to which he appealed. Again the crucified saint awoke to life, and drew off her second slipper, and flung it to the fiddler, whose innocence was thereby vindicated, and he was set free."¹ In this story the slippers were of gold; at St. Paul's Cathedral they were of silver.

Miss Eckenstein further observes that not only is the saint depicted as heavily bearded, but that also, in some instances, her body is represented as covered with long, shaggy fur.

That a Crucifix figure should have silver shoes seems not to have been peculiar to Lucca. England itself can supply an example.

In 1511, Archbishop Warham entered upon a Visitation of his diocese, the details of which are duly recorded in the Archiepiscopal Register. The items of this most interesting Visitation, both the *comperta* and the consequent *acta*, were printed by Dr. Maitland in a series of articles distributed over four volumes of the *British Magazine*.² Here is an illustration of this curious adornment:

"Ecclesia de Cheslet vel Chiftelet [*sic*].

"Item. William Hersyng willed in his last will a pair of shoes of silver of xxvi.s. viii.d. to be left to the Roode of Chisteley, and also a seme of Barley, the which Robert Nett withdraweth.

"[Robert Nottle [*sic*], a brother of the Hospital of S. Bartholomew, Sandwich, appeared, and said that he was not bound to furnish the silver shoes for the Crucifix, because the house assigned to furnish them could not be sold: and that he was not bound to pay a quarter of barley, but that if it could be proved that he was bound he would do it. The Churchwardens of the said Church exhibited

¹ *Women under Monasteries*, p. 36.

² *British Magazine*, vols. 29, 30, 31, 32; published in 1846 and 1847. It is much to be regretted that so important a contribution should have been broken up into a series of separate papers.

a charter concerning the grant of the barley, and said that they would buy the house to enable him to pay the legacy; Robert Nott was enjoined to find the pair of shoes and pay the quarter of barley before Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication].”¹

The parish here called Cheslet, Chiftelet [? Chistelet], or Chisteley, is doubtless the parish of Chislett, in East Kent, six miles north-east of Canterbury, on an affluent of the river Stour.

The author of an article in the *Revue Britannique*² speaks of the cult of St. Uncumber as “Une bizarre superstition, qui fut mise autrefois sous le patronage de Saint Paul de Londres.” The cult was not restricted to London.

In the church of St. Mary-le-Port, at Bristol, was a chapel dedicated to her, and in an ancient deed she is called “Saint Wilgefort, or Mayden Uncomb.”³

At Norwich her effigy is found at the church of St. Peter de Parmentergate. In an article on the *Goods and Accounts of Norwich Churches*, by Henry Harrod, F.S.A., printed in the *Norfolk Archæology*,⁴ is an inventory of church goods belonging to that church, taken in the second year of Edward VI. Amongst the goods are :

“Item, two of maide Uncumbres best Cotes & an orfreys of green damaske . . . xvj.*d*.”

“Item, a Cote of Maide Uncumber of redde silk & an olde Clothe of owre Lady . . . xiv.*d*.”

And amongst other bequests to certain lights in the church of St. Giles in the same city, one John Hyrynge in 1504 left.⁵

“To seynt Vnckumber light . . . xij.*d*.”

In a very interesting paper by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, entitled, *Notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster*,⁶ it is pointed out that a statue of St. Wilgefort is still to be seen in the Chapel. It stands

¹ *British Magazine*, vol. xxix, pp. 396, 397.

² For January 1852, p. 231.

³ Father Stanton, *A Menology of England and Wales*, p. 755.

⁴ *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. v, p. 118.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, series II, vol. ix, p. 164.

⁶ *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii, pp. 362-380.

on the south side in the fifth bay from the west end. The effigy represents a young woman with long hair and a turban, with a beard. "She reads from a book, which she rests on the top of a T cross." Mr. Mickelthwaite observes that this is the only image he has seen of this curious saint, and refers to the famous image of her at St. Paul's. "It was supposed", he adds, "that a saint who had obtained a beard in order to avoid matrimony would have some sympathy with those who wished to escape from it; so ladies who had husbands whom they would be rid of used to ask her help, whence her popular name of St. Uncumber." He gives an excellent plate of the effigy, and in a note adds that one of the Pastons, writing to his mother in 1465, implies that ladies who had not husbands and desired to have them paid their devotions to the Rood of north door at St. Paul's. The note is full of interest, as it serves to explain the close association of the Rood and St. Uncumber already indicated.

The letter referred to is written by John Paston the youngest to his mother, and is dated 14th September, 1465. He says :

"I pray yow voysyt the Rood of northedor, and Seynt Savyour at Barmonse, amonge whyll ye abyde in London, and lat my sustyr Margery goo with yow to pray to them that sche may have a good hosbond or sche com hom ayen; and now I pray yow send us some tydyngys as ye wer wouite to comand me; and the Holy Trynyte have yow in kepyng, and my fayr mastras of the Fleet. Wretyn at Norwyche on Holy Rood Daye. Your sone and lowly servaunt,

"J. Paston the youngest."¹

Mr. Gairdner adds a note to inform the anxious reader that Margery Paston afterwards married Richard Calle.²

The Rev. S. Baring Gould, writing to Mr. Mickelthwaite, says that "there is a new Altar and picture to her in a Chapel near Dieppe; and", he adds, "I know a German one on the Seisser Alp, near Botzen".³

In the *Archæologia Cantiana*,⁴ in an article by Mr.

¹ *Paston Letters*, ii, 233.

² Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, ii, p. 233.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii, p. 379.

⁴ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi, p. 84.



J. A. LEECH

Granville Leveson-Gower on Cowden Church, is an extract from the will of John Wickyn den in 1524.

"I bequeath to buy an image of S. Uncumber to stand in Cowden Church of alabaster iiij.s. Item, I bequeath 3 lights to burn in Cowden Church, one before the TrynYTE, one before S. Erasmus, one before S. Uncumber: this to continue as long as they be abill."

The author of the article suggests that her name Uncumber is "a shortened form of *disencumber*—she that was ready to disencumber or free women from their husbands."

It is to be hoped that no one will inquire to what nation she belonged. "She is said to have been English, French, Portuguese, Italian, German and Belgian in different accounts."¹ Readers will perhaps be equally lenient in the matter of exact chronology, for the date of her death is variously given as July 12, July 20, and October 2; whilst the year to which it is assigned is equally elastic: some writers saying that her death occurred about the year 130 or 138 A.D., whilst Père Carles assigns her birth to the fourth century, and says that her father was King of Galicia, Catilius by name, and that her mother was called Callia.²

Her body, says Mr. Baring Gould,³ "is preserved at Sigüenza in Spain, but other relics, indulgenced by Pope Urban VIII, existed at Brussels before 1695."

The beard of St. Wilgefort inspired Petrus Justus Sautel with the following poem⁴:—

XX. IVLII.

S. WILGEFORTIS V. barba repentè enascentis miraculo castitatem tuetur.

Virgineo metuens formosa puella pudori,
 (Nam nitet eximio pulcher in ore decor :)
 Quotquot in empyreo Superos agnotat Olympo,
 His rogat, aut paribus supplice voce sonis :
 O Superi, quibus est curæ virtutis honestas,
 Quosque pius tangit Virginitatis amor :

¹ Father Stanton, *Menology*, p. 755.

² *Les Petits Bollandistes*, January 28, vol. ii, p. 96.

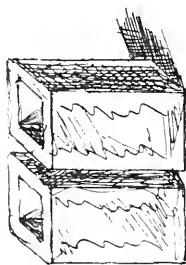
³ *Lives of the Saints*, July 20, p. 489.

⁴ See his *Annus Sacer Poeticus*, 12mo., Paris, 1665, i. 63.

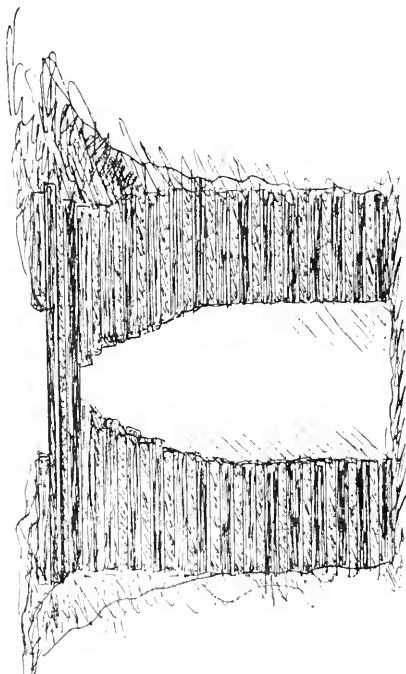
Vos precor, vt nostro species abscondat ab ore,
 Quæ solet infestos sollicitare procos.
 Non ego deformes vetulæ cutis abnuo rugas,
 Nec quæ gibboso tubere terga tument.
 Nulium ego, Cælicolæ, quodcumque est, respuo monstrum,
 Dum meus egregio cedat ab ore nitor.
 Audiure preces Superi, namque insita mento
 Hirsutis coepit crescere barba pilis.
 Spectantum insolitus præcordia perculit horror,
 Seque fugit comitem jungere virgo comes,
 Abdicat et mater sobolem, soror ipsa sororem,
 Nec proprio nota est hispida Nata patri.
 At Virgo letatur ouans, dum turba procorum
 Excidit, optatis non fruitura suis.
 Namque viro vt proprior facto est barbata Virago
 Coepit ab impuro tutior esse viro.

In the *Revue Britannique* for January 1852 (pp. 232-233), a translation is given of these Latin verses into French : but the writer of the article says, “ Comme nous venons de traduire très librement le poète jésuite, nous allons citer ses vers pour dédommager ceux de nos lecteurs qui peuvent goûter les expressions pittoresques d’un latin presque classique, Il nous a été impossible de rendre l’opposition de mots par laquelle Sauteuil fait ressortir dans ses vers la métamorphose d’une douce vierge en *virago* (*virgo facta virago barbata*). ”

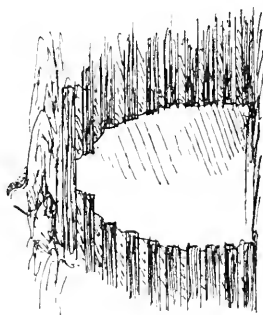




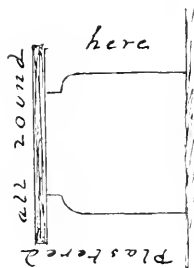
VERTICAL FLUES IN PAIRS



MOUTH OF FURNACE



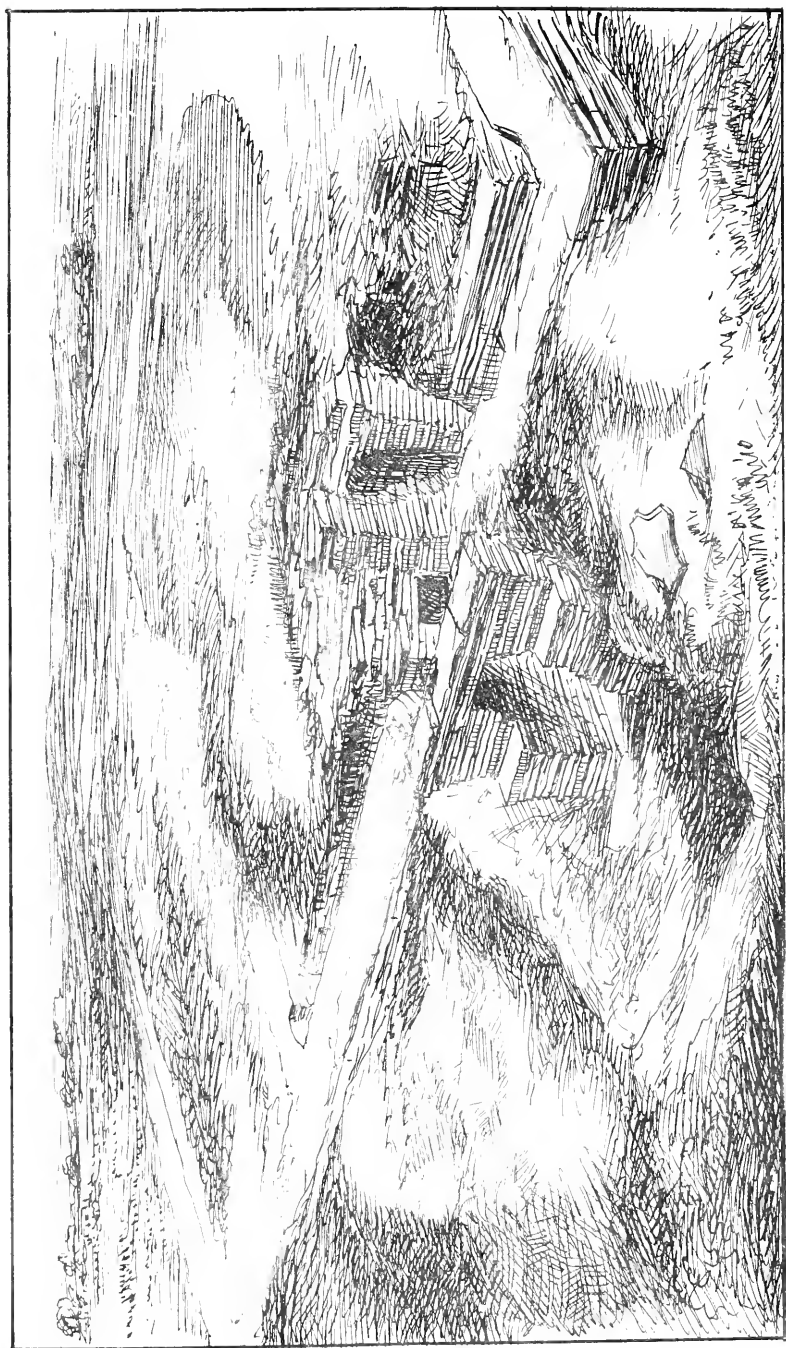
NORTH END OF
CENTRAL FLUE



SOUTH END OF
CENTRAL FLUE



ROMAN VILLA, BURHAM, KENT.—DETAILS OF HYPOCAUST.



ROMAN HOUSE, BURHAM, KENT.—GENERAL VIEW OF HYPOCAUST PARTLY EXCAVATED.



DISCOVERY OF
THE REMAINS OF A ROMAN HOUSE
AT BURHAM, KENT.

BY G. PATRICK, A.R.I.B.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read February 3rd, 1897.*)



SHORT time before the commencement of our Congress last September, I received an invitation, as Hon. Sec. of the British Archæological Association, from the Managing-Director of the Burham Brick and Lime Company, to go down to Burham and inspect some remains which had recently been found upon a portion of the company's land at Burham, as he thought they were relics of Roman Britain. I was obliged to postpone the examination until a later period, owing to professional business and pressure on my time in connection with the Congress arrangements. At the first meeting of the current session I announced this information at the Council, and was duly authorised to take the necessary steps to determine the character of the discovery, in conjunction with Mr. Geo. Payne, F.S.A., of Rochester, so well known for his researches and explorations in the fields of Roman and Saxon archæology. I therefore arranged with Mr. Payne to commence our excavations on December 8th; and as he resides only a few miles away, he was able to reach the ground early in the day, and had made considerable progress by the time Mr. Staniland, one of the directors of the company, and myself, reached the spot, owing to the inconvenient train service from London. The directors of the company generously gave us all the assistance they could, and placed a gang of labourers at

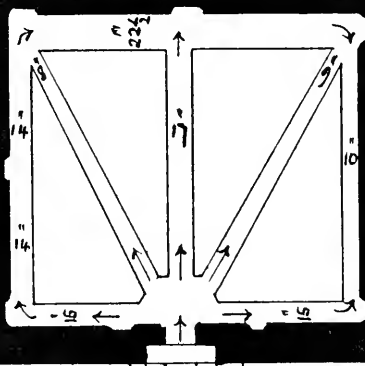
our disposal. The result is shown upon the accompanying plans and drawings. A small but compact Roman house has been unearthed, the chief feature of interest being the unusual form of the hypocaust.

The first intimation of any remains being there was furnished by the plough, as is so often the case, pieces of tile and broken pottery being turned up, which led the directors to communicate with the Association. Commencing investigations, therefore, at that spot, a trench was soon dug, and the south-western angle of the outer wall of the house was laid bare at about 18 ins. beneath the surface; and when I arrived on the scene Mr. Payne had already excavated a considerable portion of the hypocaust, which proves to be an unusually complete and interesting example. It is situated at the south-west corner of the building, beneath an apartment measuring about 18 ft. by 16 ft. It is interesting from the method of construction adopted and the absence of the usual *pilae* in its formation. As will be seen on the plan, channels cut in the chalk run round all four sides of the apartment, which connect with three other channels radiating from the mouth of the furnace; these channels were for the purpose of receiving the horizontal flues. The three radiating flues were constructed with tiles, the two outer of yellow and the central one of red tiles, the latter being large enough for a boy to crawl through. The interior sides of these flues were coated with a coarse, hard, brownish-coloured plaster, as were also the walls of the hot-air channel round the room. In eight—probably in nine—recesses round the walls had been fitted vertical flue pipes set in pairs, the remains of which were found either adhering to the walls or in the bottom of the flue. The outer flue was originally covered with flat tiles, but only a few remained *in situ*. After they collapsed into the flue, some pieces of the painted plaster of the room dropped into the flue also. This decoration had consisted of colour in wide and narrow bands, the colours being French grey, black, green and ochre, and several pieces of plaster coloured a rich dark brick red were also found. After the radiated flues were built, blocks of chalk were placed over them to make the floor up to the level of the

about 60 ft

about 34 ft

pared with concrete
composed of
broken tile
and small flints



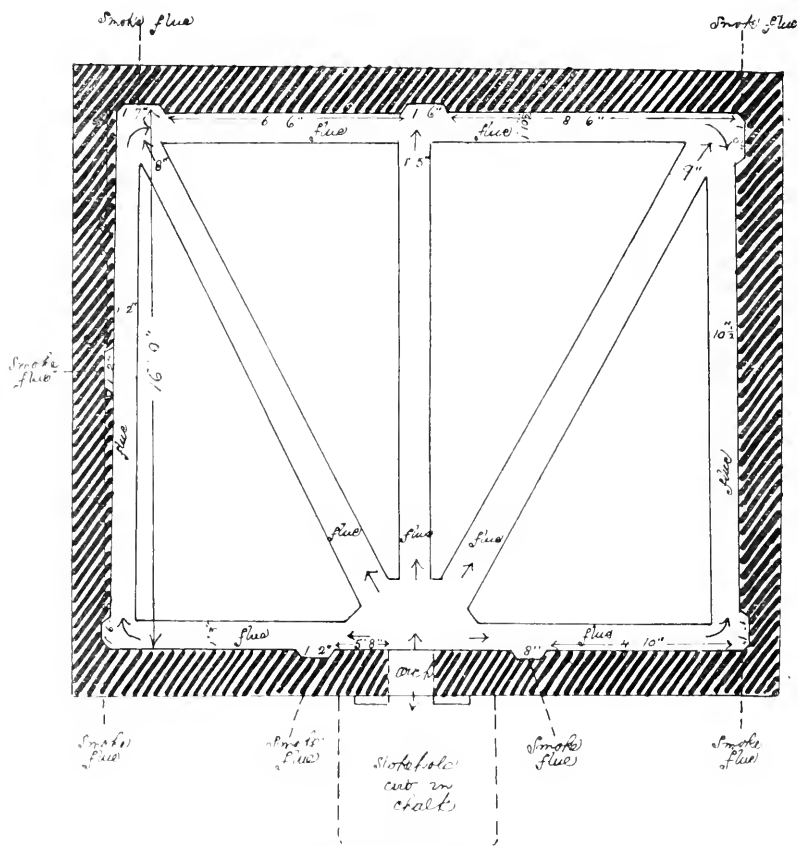
SCALE OF FEET

PLAN OF ROMAN HOUSE, BURHAM, KENT.

tiles upon the surrounding flue; then over this was 2 ins. of brown mortar, then 4 ins. of concrete mixed with pebbles, and floated off smooth on the top. There was no trace of mosaic or other ornamental pavement. The wall flues appeared to be plastered upon the natural chalk. Mr. Payne did not cut away any of the plaster to ascertain, but, as he says, there was no necessity for any masonry behind them. Upon the floor of the furnace was found a considerable quantity of white wood ash, and in the stokehole a thick layer of black ash. The openings of the central flue at the north and south ends differed very much, as illustrated in my sketch, but how the two forms of arches could be worked into the same flue could not be ascertained.

The plan of the house is a parallelogram about 60 ft. in length by about 33 ft. in width, and is divided by cross walls into three portions, the middle and larger division measuring about 30 ft. by 22 ft. This probably was the atrium. The apartment next to the hypocaust was doubtless the kitchen, while three other rooms occupied the opposite end of the building. The walls, when uncovered, presented a level appearance, which indicated that the house itself was built of wood. In the larger and more important villas, where vestiges of stone columns and other decorative features have been discovered—as at the Spoonley Wood villa, on the property of my client, Mrs. Dent, in Gloucestershire—the chief building was mainly of stone; but in the smaller houses, such as this at Burham, timber was no doubt the principal material; stout posts were morticed into a broad and solid cill, and the spaces between the posts were filled with a mixture of clay and straw, the whole being plastered over on both sides. The house very likely had an upper story framed in a similar manner, but with overhanging floor, not unlike the houses of mediæval days; in that case the walls of the chamber over the hypocaust would be carried up solid to the roof and the hot-air flues would warm the upper room also, while the smoke would be discharged by a chimney on the eaves. Stone roofing tiles of the ordinary character were met with, and flue tiles, animal bones, oyster shells and pieces

of broken pottery-ware and coloured plaster. The only relic of personal adornment found was a small bronze fibula or brooch, which Mr. Payne's experienced eye detected the instant it was uncovered, embedded in the soil with what appeared to have been a portion of a vase



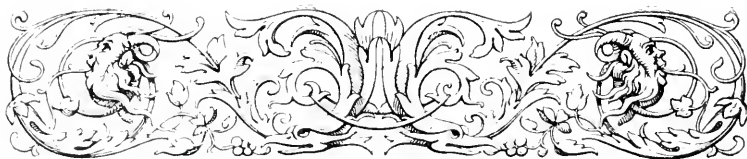
Plan of Hypocaust, Roman House, Burham, Kent, 1896.

of clay. With tender care he extricated it, but it was too brittle and too much decayed to be rescued uninjured. It is now in the possession of the directors of the company.

The house faced almost due north and south, and was evidently one of the smaller and less pretentious kind, many of which have been discovered from time to time

along the lines or in the immediate neighbourhood of the principal Roman roads, particularly in the south of England. The excavation has all been filled in again, as it was considered unsafe to leave the remains exposed to the tender mercies of the neighbouring villagers. The drawings I exhibit are made to scale from the sketches I carefully made and measured on the spot. Mr. Payne spent the best part of several days in completely uncovering the plan of the house, but nothing further was discovered. He proposes later on, in more propitious weather, to probe the surrounding land, and possibly remains of other walls may be met with.





THE FOREST OF ESSEX.

BY J. H. ROUND, ESQ., M.A.

(Read during the London Congress, 1896.)



I was with very great reluctance that I accepted the invitation of our friend Mr. De Gray Birch, to say something about the Forest of Essex. For I do not care merely to repeat what has been said before, and the Forest has already formed the subject of a well-known and valuable monograph by Mr. Fisher. Nor have I had the time for that elaborate and original research by which alone that work could be supplemented to any purpose. I have, therefore, only put together a few notes on points of interest.

As is pretty generally known, the whole county of Essex was once, virtually, forest. But in spite of the fact that, at the present day, Scottish "forests" survive to remind us how little in practice a forest had to do with trees, it is difficult to efface the impression that a forest was a vast wood. A forest, strictly speaking, was a district subject to forest law; it could therefore be extended or diminished by mere act of the Crown, wholly irrespective of the character of the land. Another point that should be clearly grasped—for it is apt to be overlooked—is that it was by no means mere love of sport that led our early kings to extend so persistently their forests. The revenue derived from the forest courts represented a very large addition to the more legitimate resources of the Crown. Nor was it only, as might be imagined, from offences against the king's game that this revenue was derived. Enclosure of portions of the

forest for cultivation, known as “assarts” or “essarts”; destruction of the “vert,” or worse still, of the special “vert”; and, most heinous of all, “waste,” that is, devastation of the timber, were all prolific sources of fines, and consequently of profit to the king’s exchequer.

Thus it is that in the rolls of the Exchequer, better known as the “rolls of the Pipe,” we find our earliest authentic information as to the extent of the forest. As they were not among the evidence examined by Mr. Fisher, I propose to give you a few instances of what they tell us. In the Pipe Roll of 1130, the earliest now surviving, we find, among the receipts for forest-pleas, 10 marcs of silver from the widow of Walter Tirel, in respect of her manor of Langham. Now Langham lay on the Suffolk border, in the north-east of Essex, which shows that the true ancient forest in the south-west of the county had already been extended by the Crown to its opposite extremity. There were owing at this time to the Crown £88 for pleas of the forest, besides £60 from sundry landowners on the same ground; in addition to which nine estates owed money for “pleas of essarts”, amounting to some £70; and Roger de Rames had incurred a heavy fine for having made a park without the king’s permission—a grave offence against the forest laws.

We have seen that even in 1130 the forest extended as far as Langham. But it can be shown that, under Henry I., it extended further still, and embraced the Tendring Hundred, a peninsula between the mouths of the Stour and the Colne, at the north-east extremity of the county. For although “the earliest record” of disafforestation that Mr. Fisher could discover was that of King John in 1204, the charter by which Stephen, some 60 years before, disafforested the Hundred of Tendring, was produced at a forest eyre in 17 Edward II., and its terms are thus on record. As it is not long, it may be well to give it:—

“Stephanus rex Anglorum Justic’ vicecomit’ et forestariis et omnibus fidelibus suis de Essex salutem Sciatis quod pro Dei amore et pro anima regis Henrici et omnium antecessorum meorum et omnium fidelium, clam’ quiete Domino (?) Hundred[um] de Tenderinge de assartis et placitis forestar[um] imperpetuum. Quare

volō et precipio quod omnes homines de eisdem Hundred sint quieti imperpetuum de Foresta, placitis ferarum, et placitis forestarum ne unquam amplius inde ponantur in placitum. Testibus: Ricardo de Lucy, et Ricardo de Camvilla. Apud Woodstoke."

As one cannot suppose that Stephen would venture to afforest this district himself, we may infer that it was his predecessor, Henry I, who had done so.

But even this was not the earliest act of disafforestation. For the above charter, from the witnesses' names, cannot be earlier than 1140 ; while there is on record, though not printed, a charter which I place previous to 1137, and by which Stephen disafforested the woods of the Abbess of Barking. His words are :—

"Reddo et concedo ecclesie Berchingiæ et abbatissæ Adel[iciæ] omnes boscos et terras suas quas Henricus Rex afforestavit, ut illas excolat et hospitetur."

Here then we have a most direct statement on the mysterious extension of the forest under our Norman kings. It was in this case the act of Henry I. Mr. Fisher gives us (p. 155) the results of an enquiry in 1292, at which the Abbess made good her claim "that woods of hers within the forest had always been without the regard" as the legal phrase ran ; but not being acquainted with this charter, he does not explain the origin of her claim.

In an appendix to my *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, I have explained the historical importance of this Barking charter. Stephen, in his great Charter of Liberties, issued after his coronation, disafforested all the additions which his predecessor had made to the forests of the realm.¹ But, says the chronicler, he broke this agreement by holding a forest assize, in due course at Brampton. And so here, the fact that he granted as a special favour to Barking what he had pledged himself to grant universally, shows that his pledge had not been kept. When, as if it were an act of piety, he disafforested the Hundred of Tendring, he professed to

¹ "Forestas quas Willelmus avus meus et Willelmus avunculus meus instituerunt et habuerunt mihi reservo. Ceteras omnes, quas rex Henricus superaddidit ecclesiis et regno, quietas reddo et concedo."

do it for the benefit of his own and his uncle's souls : But if we could read between the lines, we might find that in this, as in other cases, the king had received for the charter some more substantial consideration.

Obscure as is and always must be, from the want of record evidence, the development of our institutions under Henry I, it is clear that financial exaction was one of its leading features ; and it was, I believe, largely for the profits of the forest courts that Henry extended the forest of Essex. Indeed, I doubt if our early kings hunted much in the county outside of Waltham forest, where they seem to have used Waltham itself as their residence for the purpose.

As law and order in the Norman period expired for the time being with the king, the death of Henry I was the signal for a general raid upon the king's deer. More serious, however, because of a permanent character, were the *essarts* and encroachments on the forest, which were clearly one of the results of the anarchy under Stephen. For, as I have shown in my *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (p. 376), one of Geoffrey's main stipulations, when bargaining with the Empress Maud, was that he and all his men should be quit of all penalty for their waste and encroachments in the forest, and should thenceforth enjoy in peace the *essarts* they had made. There is also a charter of Stephen, granted at the very close of his reign, giving permission to the abbess of the Holy Trinity of Caen to hold in peace all the *essarts* within her manor of Felsted (which was of importance in the history of the forest), and to till them in freedom from forfeiture.

With Henry II the forest law revived in all its severity ; and one of his earliest acts, as we learn from his first Pipe Roll, was to exact the then enormous sum of £215 18s. 0d. from the county of Essex for *essarts* (*assarta*) alone. On the roll of the following year (1156) the sum of £20 10s. 0d. is entered from the same source. Strong in his undisputed power, the king treated the entire county, even including the Hundred of Tendring, as within the forest ; and in 1168 over £204 was due to the treasury from this source, what with *essarts*, wastes,

and fines, more than thirty landowners, in different parts of the county, having to contribute. Twenty years later we meet with an amusing incident, unknown, it would seem to Mr. Fisher. Richard de Montfichet, who was himself the keeper or steward of the forest, was heavily fined by the king's judge for making a park in his own woods at Stansted Montfichet, which were "within the regard."¹ Here we have evidence that this manor, lying on the Hertfordshire border, just north of the great causeway, was then within the forest.

Passing over fifteen years, we come to the first great act of disafforestation, by which, in 1204, King John disafforested that portion of the county lying to the north of this causeway, that is, the old Roman road running due east from Bishops Stortford to Colchester. By a slight but unfortunate slip, Mr. Fisher writes "from *Stratford*". The great highroad from Stratford—that is, London—to Colchester, does figure in these perambulations, which makes it the more essential to distinguish the two. I give, therefore, from the Charter Roll the actual wording of the charter, before proceeding to explain further the limits of the district dealt with.

"Sciatis nos deaforestasse [forestam] de Essexia que est ultra calceam versus aquilonem que tendit de Storteforde versus Colecest[riam] usque ad boscum de Wildehora, ubi ad capud fossati quod dicitur Haidich jungitur predictæ calcee, et exinde ultra calceam sicut via tendit usque ad novum pontem et exinde sicut magnum chimum tendit usque in Heilande, ita quod tota foresta infra predictas metas contenta et homines ibi manentes et heredes eorum sint deaforestati et liberi et soluti et quieti in perpetuum de nobis et heredibus nostris de omnibus que ad forestam et forestarios pertinent, et quod capiant et habeant omnimodam venationem quam capere poterint infra predictas metas, etc. xxv die Marcii anno, etc. v^{to}"²

Mr. Fisher confessed that he could not identify the eastern boundary here described. To archæologists it is of special interest. Two miles short of Colchester, the road strikes at right angles that great prehistoric ram-

¹ "Quia fecit parcum de bosco suo de Stansteda quod debet esse in rewarda."—*Rot. Pip.*, 1 Ric I.

² *Rot. Curt.* (Record Commission), p. 123.

part which bounds to this day the liberties of Colchester. At this point the line drawn by John turned sharp to the north, and followed the line of this ancient earth-work as far as that "New Bridge" which bears to-day the same name as it bore in 1204, and which, indeed, is newer than ever. For, as lord of the manor of West Bergholt, I was jointly responsible with the lord of Lexden for keeping that bridge in repair; and when the floods carried it away a few years ago, we had to build it again. I trust you may pardon this slight digression, as reminding us how closely in this land of ours the present is linked with the past.

From the "New Bridge" John's boundary passed northward to Nayland—the "Eiland" of Domesday—and the Suffolk border.

Now, on looking up this charter, I found that it did not stand alone. Some half a dozen similar charters were granted about the same time, disafforesting among other districts the "new forest" of Staffordshire and almost all Devon and Cornwall. As our historians seem to have left unnoticed this action of the King, and as John was not the man to grant such concessions for nothing, I asked myself if they might be accounted for by the fact that he was at this time in sore want of money. For the answer we are indebted to the industry of Morant, who, in one of his out-of-the-way notes, has shown that the men of Essex ("Homines de Essex") made the large payment of 500 marks and five palfreys for having this portion of the county thrown out of the forest.

Mr. Fisher very naturally followed the verdict of the perambulation in 1301, which implies that the Earl of Oxford, a great landowner in the district, had purchased this concession; but the record I have quoted proves that it was paid for by "the men of Essex."

Thirteen years later the famous "Charter of the Forest" (1217) was wrung from Henry III; but so stubborn was the Crown on the point of its forests, that its surrender had to be purchased anew eight years afterwards by the grant of a fresh tax, when, at last, in the latter part of 1225, the county was perambulated and the forest reduced, amidst general joy, to its ancient

limits. The baffled King, a year or two later, attempted to repudiate the charter, but in August 1227, was forced to submit.

Yet the Crown had not exhausted its resources. Falling back on "legal chicanery", it announced in 1228 that the "charter of the forest" had been misinterpreted, and that, according to its right construction, all Essex ought to be forest except the Hundred of Tendring. For the time, the triumph of the Crown was complete; and it was not till the close of the century that the great perambulation of 1300, consequent on that final confirmation of the charters which money had once more wrung from the Crown, finally undid the work, and defeated the claims of the King. How those claims were revived—as a means, of course, of extorting money, by Charles I and his lawyers—you can read in Mr. Fisher's pages. The revival of the forest, in the words of D'Ewes, was to the county of Essex, "a most heavy and fatal blow"; but in 1641 Parliament intervened, and closed at last that struggle between the Crown and its subjects, which had lasted, as we have seen, more than 500 years.

I have deemed it of more real use to correct and supplement the valuable information contained in Mr. Fisher's pages, than merely to repeat what he has said. It is to his learned work that you must turn for the ancient courts of swainmote and woodmote, the riding and yeoman foresters, with their horns of office, the verderers, regarders, rangers, woodwards, reeves, and beadle of the forest district. There you will read of its "playnes and lawnes most useful and commodious for hunting and chasing of the game of redd and falowe deare"; and of those archaic rights of cutting and lopping wood, which are by no means peculiar to this district, or indeed to this country.





NOTES ON FULHAM PALACE.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, LL.D. F.S.A.

(Read at the London Congress, 1896.)



IT is said that the earliest notice of Fulham Palace occurs in a grant of the Manor by Tyrhtel, Bishop of Hereford, to Erkenwald, Bishop of London, about A.D. 691, wherein the place is called Fulanham. Of the parish itself no notice can be made on this occasion because of the small time available. How the Bishop of Hereford became in possession of the Manor has never been recorded. The will of Theodred, Bishop of London, about A.D. 951, printed in the *Cartularium Saxonum*, No. 1008, vol. iii, p. 211, says "let it stand at Fullenham, *i.e.* Fulham, as it now stands, unless the convent will free my men." By the expression "convent" the testator signified St. Paul's cathedral church, to which he bequeathed other lands mentioned in the same deed. From the time of Theodred to the present, the Manor has belonged to the See of London. The residence, or palace of the bishops, stands on the north or Middlesex side of the Thames, not far from the parish church. It embraces about thirty-seven acres, including the gardens and the "warren" field, the whole surrounded by a moat, over which are two bridges.

Very little information has been recorded of the palace in mediæval days, but much could be gleaned from the ordinary sources, by anyone having the leisure to prosecute researches into the history of the building and its illustrious occupants. The principal entrance is through an arched gateway into the great quadrangle on the

west side. The edifice is of brick, and consists of two courts, built by Bishop Richard Fitz-James, A.D. 1496-1522, in the reign of Henry VII. There is a shield of the arms of the See—two swords in saltire, impaling the arms of the bishop, quarterly, 1 and 4, a dolphin embowed; 2 and 3, a cross engrailed, in dexter chief an eagle displayed—on a stone entablature set in the wall over a door which leads from the offices in the south wing. These arms are also carved on a gateway in Merton College, Oxford, and on a window in another part of this palace. The hall is immediately facing the entrance. In the north wing are the apartments of the chaplain. On the south and west sides are the servants' apartments and various offices. The house was probably first built by Bishop Erkenwald (*ob.* A.D. 693.) He was a great benefactor to the See and church of St. Paul.

Bishop Robert de Sigillo was promoted to the bishopric in A.D. 1141, by Queen Matildis, and shortly afterwards was taken captive by the celebrated Geoffrey de Mandeville, one of King Stephen's generals, not regaining his liberty without paying a heavy fine.

Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, died at Fulham Palace, May 1st, A.D. 1255, after an illness of three days, contracted while attending the duties of Parliament.

Bishop Robert de Gravesend died here, December 9th, 1303.

Bishop Ralph Baldock, Lord High Chancellor, A.D. 1306, passed much time here, from which place many of his public acts are dated.

The arms of Kemp are found on various windows, from which fact it has been thought that Bishop Thomas Kemp, the second of that surname, either built or repaired parts of the edifice, A.D. 1450-1489.

Bishop Thomas Savage, A.D. 1496-1501, also, has left his armorial bearings on view, both in the hall and the chapel. Bishop Fitz-James, of whom mention has already been made, rebuilt the great quadrangle.

Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, A.D. 1522-1530, is not recorded to have executed any building here.

Bishop Edmund Bonner, A.D. 1540-1569, is recorded

in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (v. iii, p. 880) to have persecuted the Protestants with the greatest violence and cruelty on several occasions at his residence here.

Bishop John Aylmer, A.D. 1577-1594, was charged with cutting down the wood belonging to the See at Fulham, and was forbidden to do so, by order of Queen Elizabeth, after investigation of the matter by the Council. He died here June 3rd, A.D. 1594.

Bishop Richard Fletcher, A.D. 1595-1596, bestowed great sums of money on the reparation of this and the other mansion-houses belonging to the See of London, which in his day were found to be much decayed. In the windows of the hall are the initial letters of this bishop, with date of A.D. 1595,—he repaired and fitted up that apartment.

In the time of Bishop William Juxon, A.D. 1633-1660, the house and manor of Fulham were sold to Colonel Harvey, A.D. 1647, the bishop retiring to his private estate at Compton, co. Gloucester. Fuller says: "he staid at home till his bishopric left him, roused from his swan's nest at Fulham, for a bird of another feather to build therein." This lay ownership no doubt ceased with the restoration of Monarchy.

Bishop Gilbert Sheldon, A.D. 1660-1663, expended a considerable sum on the palace.

Bishop Henry Compton, A.D. 1675-1713, during his suspension, began the formation of the botanical collections here for which Fulham has ever since been celebrated; but as archæologists we may not dilate upon them.

During the suspension of Dr. Compton for refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp, then minister of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, the bishop "amply gratified himself," says Faulkner, the author of the *Historical and Topographical Account of Fulham*, London, 1813—from whose work these notes are derived—"in his favourite amusement of gardening, to a taste for which he joined a real and scientific knowledge of plants, an attainment not usual among the great of those days; and during a long residence of thirty-eight years was enabled finally to collect a greater number of greenhouse rarities, and to

plant a greater variety of hardy exotic trees and shrubs, than had been seen in any garden in England."

Bishop John Robinson, A.D. 1714-1723, presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in A.D. 1715, a petition setting forth that the manor-house or palace of Fulham was grown very old and ruinous, that it was too large for the revenues of the bishopric, and that part of the building was become useless. Thereupon Sir John Vanbrugh, Sir Christopher Wren, and others were commissioned to examine the premises. These reported that, after taking down the bake-house and the pastry-house which adjoined the kitchen, and all the buildings to the northward of the great dining-room, there would be left between fifty and sixty rooms, besides the chapel, hall, and kitchen. As these were considered sufficient for the use of the bishop and his successors, a license, dated July 21st, 1715, was issued to pull down the other buildings. The palace now consists of about the same number of rooms as were left after this was done.

Bishop Thomas Sherlock, A.D. 1748-1761, built the dining-room, repaired the hall, and expended a considerable sum of money in the embellishment and adornment of Fulham palace.

Bishop Richard Osbaldeston, A.D. 1769-1764, bequeathed the sum of £1,000 towards the repair of the palace.

Bishop Richard Terriek, A.D. 1764-1777, removed the chapel of the palace to its present position, fitted it up, and repaired other parts of the edifice.

Bishop Robert Lowth, A.D. 1777-1787, died in this building in A.D. 1787, November 3rd, after a long illness induced by intense study.

Bishop Beilby Porteus, A.D. 1787-1809, died here, and bequeathed his books to the See, directing that the profits of his literary works, after deducting £100 to each of three trustees appointed to prepare a complete edition, should form the groundwork of a fund for the purpose of erecting a new library at Fulham Palace. The copyright sold for £750.

A few words may here be added about the hall. It is a fine room, measuring 50 ft. 6 in. by 27 ft. Bishop

Sherlock's arms, carved in wood, are—or were—over the mantel-piece. Bishop Porteus placed in the window a portrait of Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York. Three windows on the west side and one on the east, contain 37 coats of arms of Kemp, Savage, Tunstall, Fitz-James, Aylmer, and other bishops, as described in detail by Faulkner. The cypher of the artist: "R: T: fecit," occurs twice, viz., No. 9 on the east window, and No. 7 on the middle west window. There is a door leading from the hall to the great dining-room which appears to be of the 15th century. On one of the spandrels are the arms of the See, and on the other the arms of the bishop by whom it was erected; but having been originally very rudely carved, and rendered more obscure by frequent whitewashings, it would be impossible to ascertain to whom it belonged.

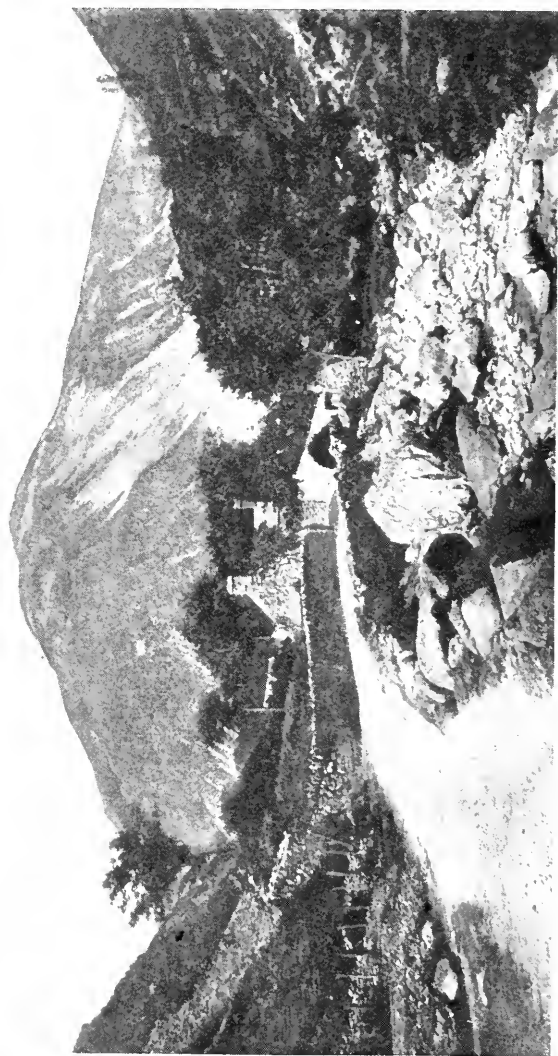
There is also an ancient window in the passage which leads from the hall to the chapel. This contains painted glass and shields of arms, viz., (1) arms of Fitz-James; (2) portrait of Bishop Compton; (3) arms of Bishop Compton; (4) arms of Bishop Mountaigne, or Montaigne, A.D. 1621-1628; (5) medallion of the Virgin Mary; (6) arms of Bishop Savage; (7) arms of Bishop Kemp; four medallions of the seasons.

The chapel is on the north of the inner court, fronting the gardens. Bishop Terrick removed it there, and expended on its improvement part of the money given for that purpose by Bishop Osbaldestone. The wainscoting was brought from the chapel of London House, Aldersgate Street. The greater part of the painted glass in the windows, which is very good, was also removed from the same place. There are about one hundred and twelve shields of arms, of which Faulkner gives a detailed list. The library forms the east side of the palace, and faces the gardens. It was probably erected by Bishop Sheldon. The dimensions are 50 ft. by 20 ft. Here are preserved the books of Bishop Porteus, and a collection of portraits of the prelates added to from time to time by the successive occupiers of the palace. The paintings are described by the already-mentioned historian. They begin in the corner on the right-hand of the entrance, as

follows :—Bishops Grindall, Ridley, Abbot, Laud, Bancroft, King, Henchman, Porteus, Compton, Gibson, Sherlock, Osbaldeston, Hayter, Terrick, Lowth, Randolph, Robinson, Tunstall, Sheldon, and Juxon.

The gallery leading to the chapel contained portraits of Bishop King and Archbishop Abbot. Bishop Sherlock built the dining-room ; and Bishop Porteus, who repaired it, placed over the chimney a portrait of Sherlock.





ALLT GWYN.



THE CAVES IN ALLT GWYN, DWYGYFYLCHI, CARNARVONSHIRE, IN 1896.

BY LADY PAGET.



BETWEEN two and three miles on the west side of Conway, in Carnarvonshire, rises the mountain of Penmaen Bach, in the parish of Dwygyfylchi.¹ It possesses three headlands, formed by a depression near the summit, between the three highest points of the mountain; which depression is called in Welsh "Isa-pen-Isa."

The larger part of Penmaen Bach, lying towards Conway, is occupied by the ancient fortress of *Caer Seiont*, which is built of uncemented stone. It is round the headland best known as Penmaen Bach that a new road on the north side, made by Telford, was opened in 1827. The base of this headland being washed by the sea, a capacious tunnel has been constructed for the Chester and Holyhead railway. From this point the mountain

¹ The parish of Dwygyfylchi (*Dwy-Gyfylchi*), according to Lewis, is situated in the union of Conway, hundred of *Llêch-wedd-uchâv*, and county of Carnarvon, four miles west from Aberconway on the road from Liverpool to Holyhead. It is comprehended in the mountainous district of the county, and bounded on the east by the estuary of the river Conway, which here falls into the Irish Sea. In 1826, during the improvements of the road, a new route was formed through the parish to Aberconway, nearly four miles in extent, at a large cost. This passes through the immense rocky mountain of Penmaen Bach, which here projects into the sea; and being carried immediately above the sea, is impassible during the winter on account of the heavy gales which prevail, compelling the mail coaches and other traffic to travel along the old line of road through the mountain passes of *Sychmant*. On the mountains are numerous ancient encampments and fortresses, extensive and singular in construction, one being enclosed by a strong wall with facing of uncemented stones; circular enclosures with central upstanding stones; upright monoliths, and *carneddau*.

recedes south, terminating in the headland called Allt Gwyn, and it is to the south side of this headland that attention must now be given, as it is the subject of the present paper. Allt Gwyn is more than 1,000 ft. in height, and on its summit are the ruins of an ancient British fortress. It is separated from the almost adjoining hills on the south by the formerly dangerous mass



Exterior of No. 1 Cave. [Photo. by Mr. Wade, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.

called the Sychnant, described by Pennant. "The traveller labours up the steep ascent of the Sychnant, with a horrible and almost precipitous mountain on one side, and hills, with tops broken into most singular crags, on the other." This road of Pennant's is now seen at the base of Allt Gwyn. A newer road, made by Sylvester, and opened in 1772, on the side of the opposite hill, is the present carriage route for tourists from Conway, and is quite steep enough.

It is when standing on this road that an opening may be observed on the side of Allt Gwyn, about 200 ft. or more from its base, and which tradition has handed down as the entrance to an old Roman mine. This assertion seems to have fully satisfied several curious inquirers, so that, with the exception of a few youthful explorers, it had remained unnoticed until the year 1893, when



Interior of No. 1 Cave (larger).

[Photo, by Mr. Wade.

some quarrymen, inhabitants of the parish, thought they would investigate the supposed mine. After a careful examination they concluded that it had never been a mine at any period.

This was mentioned to Lady Paget in the autumn of 1896, when she returned, after a long absence, to Dwygyfylchi, and lodged with Mr. and Mrs. John Jones, of Hafod-y-Rhiw, who live near to Mr. and Mrs. William Jones, of Tan-y-Fron. As Mr. John, and Mr. William

Jones were trustworthy and intelligent, well qualified to give an opinion upon stones, or any mining operations, their assistance was secured by Lady Paget to enter the mountain on the south side; and thus, on Saturday, October 3rd, 1896, taking a supply of candles and matches, they entered a large cave with half a foot of water at the bottom of it. The water seemed to percolate through



No. 2 Cave, looking towards the Entrance.

[Photo. by Mr. Wade.

the roof of the cave, and gradually disappear in a gravelly soil. There were no signs of a spring of water, but previous heavy rains would account for the presence of it. They found, on measurement, this cave was seventy-six yards long, and beyond it was a smaller one forty-four yards long, five feet wide and seven feet high. Then appeared some artificial stone work, seemingly erected for protection, and behind this erection was a smaller cave, measuring sixty feet long, six feet nine inches high, and

five feet four inches wide, having two recesses on one side, and another recess on the opposite side. The height of the caves was uneven, varying from seven to five feet. The only entrance was on the south side, and nothing could be seen without artificial light.

With this information Lady Paget obtained, through her son, Charles E. Paget (Medical Officer of Health at



Interior of No. 2 Cave.

[Photo. by Mr. Wade.]

Salford), the help of Mr. Wade to photograph the interior, those parts being taken which seemed of most interest, and also the view of the opposite hill from the entrance. The result of this investigation is to show the existence of three caves connected with each other, containing evidence of ancient stone buildings, but without any sign of mining. It should be remembered that the caves are some distance beneath the ancient fortress of British work, on the summit of Allt Gwyn.



PORTABLE ALTARS.

BY F. R. FAIRBANK, M.D., F.S.A., HON. CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

(Read January 20th, 1897.)

Synonyms—

Altare gestatorium ; itinerarium ; levaticum ; portatile ;
paratum ; vel viaticum.

Altare quod portari potest ; Autel mobile ou portatif.



UNDER various circumstances and on various occasions portable altars were used. They were used in private chapels, on journeys, on military expeditions, for private masses with the sick and dying ; and when the altars of churches and chapels had not been consecrated.

In the Roman Church they are now used where fixed altars have not been consecrated ; *e.g.*, at St. Peter's, Doncaster, there is one ; it is sewed up in canvas, and laid upon the "mensa" of the great altar. There is a "sepulcrum" with a loose "seal" in the centre of the front part of the "mensa," waiting for the relics to be inserted at the consecration. At the "Star of the Sea," Hastings, a somewhat similar arrangement exists, but there the presence of the super-altar is not so evident, as the surface of the altar is made level by wood packing and covered.

The Rev. John Burke, of S. Philip's, Arundel, kindly informs me :—

In the case of what are called portable altars, the relics should invariably be inserted and securely sealed up in the altar-stone itself.

Lübke says of them :—

In opposition to the monumental altars . . . are . . . the portable altars, which were commonly used during the whole middle ages. Even in the early Christian times there existed portable altars (*altaria gestatoria, viatica, itineraria, portatilia*), which could be carried about, so that the offering of the mass could be performed in any place. In the eighth century, according to the testimony of Beda, the brothers Ewald had such altars in their missionary journeys. The like is related of the monks of S. Denis, who accompanied the army of Charlemagne in his crusade against the Saxons. The portable altars consist, as a rule, of a rectangular stone, generally of a precious stone—as marble, agate, porphyry, onyx, amethyst—in a frame of gold or gilt copper, set with precious stones, nielli or enamels. A wooden table forms the back, which is also richly adorned. The relics are under the stone slab, or enclosed in the corners of the frame. Sometimes the portable altars have wings, so that they take the form of diptychs or triptychs, the decoration of which consists either of ivory, of precious metals, or of paintings. If it was required to use larger relics, the portable altar received the form of a shrine, like a sarcophagus, which generally rests on the claws of animals. We find Romanesque portable altars in the Church of the Virgin at Treves (travelling altar of S. Willibrod), in the treasury of the Cathedral of Bamberg, in the Cathedral of Paderborn, two in the treasury of the Chapter-house of Melk ; several in the archiepiscopal museum at Cologne, and in the royal treasury chamber at Hanover ; also a number in the art chamber of the new museum at Berlin.—*Ecclesiastical Art in Germany*, p. 135-6.

“The finest collection (of portable altar-stones) that I have ever seen is in the treasury attached to the Cathedral of Augsburg. There are specimens of various dates, some very elaborately ornamented, and one is in a sort of case which served as a kind of super-altar. I had one which was found in the private chapel of an old Catholic family at Oundle. One side had a smooth surface, the other side and the edges were cased in metal work, which prevented it from lying flat on a table.”—J. MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A., *The Antiquary*, N. S., ii.

Portable altars were made of stone of various qualities, and were generally set in precious metal, and ornamented with precious stones. Du. Cange describes one, about a foot square, of marble, inlaid with gold, silver and precious stones. At Glastonbury Abbey, at the Dissolution, there was :—

Item, a super-altar garnished with silver and gilt, and part gold,

called the great saphure of Glausconburye.—*Monastic Treasures. Abbotsford Club*, p. 49.

In the Cathedral at York, in 1500, there were :—

A precious super-altar of jasper, adorned in the circumference with copper gilt.

Two super-altars of red marble, adorned with silver, of which one stands upon four feet of silver and the other without feet, upon which St. John celebrated when the Holy Spirit appeared to him, as appears in his legend.—*York Fabric Rolls, Sur. Soc.*, p. 223.

In Westminster Abbey, in 1388, according to the inventory, there were there three super-altars, two of which were of jasper, the third of marble. And at a later date—1508-1514—there was included in a “capella portatilis” there, which included all things necessary for rigging up a portable chapel, a super-altar of alabaster.—*Archæologia*, vol. 52, p. 238 and 276.

In 1404, Walter Berghe left in his will to the Gild of S. George, York, one super-altar of “blackgete.”—*Test. Ebor. Sur. Soc.* i., p. 333.

In 1444, John Brompton, merchant, Beverley, mentions in his will one superaltare of white marble, not consecrated.—*Ibid.* ii., pp. 96-104. Probably this was part of his stock-in-trade.

In 1503, Katherine, Lady Hastings, wife of William, first Lord H., of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, left to her sons two super-altars, one of white to Richard, one of jet to William.—*Test. Vetus*, p. 454.

In the *Archæological Journal* for 1847, Dr. Rock figures a beautiful specimen then in his possession. It is now at S. George's, Southwark.—J. MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A., *Antiquary*, N.S. ii.

All the above were specimens of a superior quality of stone. There were other super-altars, of which the stone at least was of a much poorer character. Among the ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Calder was found, some years ago, a small slab, which had evidently been a super-altar. It is of red sandstone, measuring 10 inches in length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch thick. On one surface are five crosses, arranged like those on an ordinary altar. There are no indications of a framework, or a place for relics; doubtless it was so fitted, and the relics would probably be enclosed by the frame. This stone contrasts strongly with the one figured by Dr. Rock. It is now fixed in an oak frame within the altar-rails of the church of Beckermeth. It is cracked across the centre. (*See copy of rubbing*, p. 57.)

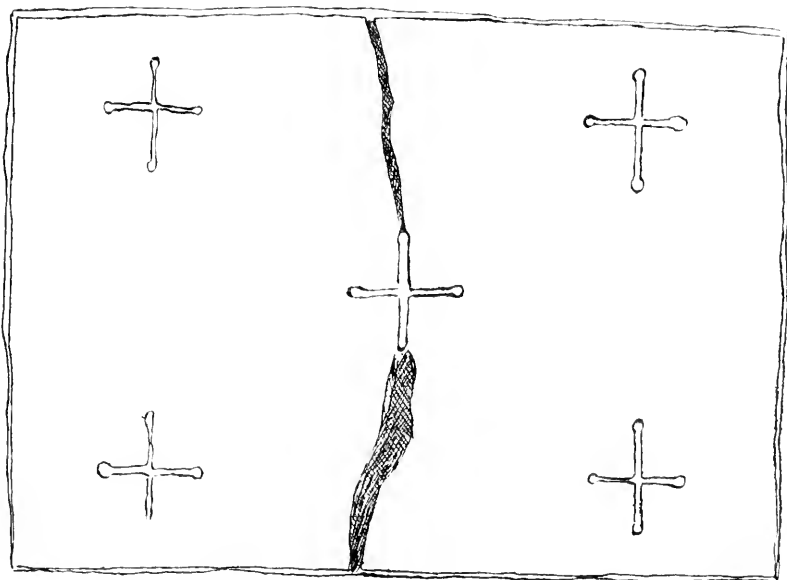
Among other notices of super-altars, the following occur :—

1321. William Loucastre, Chaplain and Penitentiary of York Cathedral. . . . To be buried by the altar of S. Thomas Martyr, in the Cathedral. To the same altar one super-altar.—*York Fabric Rolls, Sur. Soc.*, 158.

1392. Pro emendatione duorum super-altarium.—*Ibid.*

1360 (?). Inventory of altar of S. Nicholas. . . . One superaltar of price 6s. 8d.—*Ibid.*, p. 298.

1421. Agnes Stubbard, of Bury S. Edmunds. To her chaplain,



Portable Altar in Calderbridge Church, July 1. 1891. (Beckermest.)

vestments and one small super-altar.—*Bury Wills and Invents., Cam. Soc.*, p. 3.

1512. Lady Jane Harper, York, widow of Alderman Harper. . . . Also I bequeathe unto the house of Rileston one superaltar.—*Test. Ebor. Sur. Soc.* v., p. 38.

1522. Roger Rokeley, Esq. . . . A messebooke, superaltare, etc., to his son.—*Ibid.*, p. 159-161.

1535. Lady Elizabeth Bassett, of Fledburgh. To her son John, a chalice, the vestment, altar cloths, the superaltare, and all things belonging to the altar.—*Ibid.*, p. 147 n.

Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln, ordered :—

Let superaltars be decent and of meet size, and firmly fixed in a

frame of wood, so that they cannot be moved from it; neither let them be set to any other use but the celebration of Divine Worship, by grinding colours upon them or the like.—*Grostedt Epist., Rolls Series*, p. 156.

Super-altars could only be used for private use by special license. In the recently published "*Papal Letters*," *Rolls Series*, many such grants are contained. I have collected the following :—

1251. Innocent IV. Mandate to the Archbishop of York to grant a licence to the Countess of Lincoln to have a portable altar.

1254. The same. Indult to Wm. de Valencia, the king's brother, to have a portable altar.

1254. The same. Indult to Robert, called "the Valiant," the King's steward, to have a portable altar for five years.

1255. Alexander IV. Faculty to Henry de Winham, Papal sub-deacon and chaplain, of the dioc. of London, who is engaged in the King's service, to have a portable altar.

1278. Nicholas III. Indult to Queen Eleanor to have a portable altar at which her chaplain may celebrate divine offices.

1286. Honorius IV. Faculty to John de Vescie, one of the King's knights, to have a portable altar.

1289. Nicholas IV. Faculty to Henry de Lasey, Earl of Lincoln to have a portable altar.

1291. The same. Licences to Edmund, son of Henry III., and to Blanche, his wife, to choose their own confessor, have each a portable altar, and have divine offices privately celebrated in places under interdict.

1291. The same. Licence to the chaplain of William de Valencia to use a portable altar.

1296. Boniface VIII. The Bishop of Clonfert, a Benedictine, had special privileges granted him, apparently on account of ill-health, among others a faculty to have a portable altar.

1297. The same. Indult to Peter de Sabaudia, Dean of Salisbury, to have a portable altar.

1301. The same. To Queen Margaret, to have a confessor, a portable altar, and divine offices celebrated in private in places under interdict.

1304. Benedict XI. Faculty to Henry de Hertelyngton, in dioc. of York, to have a portable altar.

1306. Clement V. To Queen Margaret. Indult to have a portable altar.

1308. The same. To Isabella de Vesey, of dioc. of Durham. Indult to have a portable altar.

1308. The same. Master John Haveringg, Archbishop elect of Dublin, having resigned, is appointed a papal chaplain. Faculty to have a portable altar.

1309. The same. To Aymer de Valencia, Earl of Pembroke, to have a portable altar.

1317. John XXII. To Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. Indult to have a portable altar.

1320. The same. To Hugh Despencer, jun., the King's chamberlain. Faculty to have a portable altar.

1327. The same. To Edmund Trussel, domsel, and Margery, his wife, of dioc. of Lincoln. Indult to have a portable altar.

1327. The same. To Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester. The like.

1328. The same. To Margaret, wife of Edmund of Woodstock, son of the late King Edward. Indult to have a portable altar.

1329. The same. To Queen Philippa. Indult to have a portable altar.

1329. The same. To John de Warrennia, Earl of Surrey. Faculty to have a portable altar.

1329. The same. To John de Haustede, knight, of dioc. of Norwich. Indult to have a portable altar, on which mass may occasionally be said before daybreak.

1329. The same. To Thos. Ranulphi, Earl of Moray. Indult to have a portable altar.

1331. The same. To Mary de Sancto Paulo, Countess of Pembroke. Indult to have a portable altar.

1332. The same. To Oliver de Ingham, the King's seneschal in Aquitaine. Indult to have a portable altar.

1333. The same. To Wm. de Monteacuto, knight, of dioc. of Bath. Indult to have a portable altar.

1333. The same. To Elizabeth de Borg, lady of Clare, dioc. of London, daughter of the late Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester. Indult to have a portable altar.

1341. Benedict XII. To Henry de Lancastria, Earl of Derby. Indult at the request of Neapolio, Cardinal of S. Adrian's, to have a portable altar.

1341. The same. To the same, at the request of the same, that his chaplains shall administer to him and his wife the sacraments of the church.

1389. Boniface IX. To Sir Robert Hammsard to have a portable altar. The original is in the British Museum in Hollis's *Collections*. Mr. E. Peacock gives it at length in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, N. S. xiii., p. 171.

NOTE.—The following extract from this grant shows the nature of this privilege :—

. . . Hinc est quod nos tuis devotis supplicacionibus inclinati ut liceat tibi habere Altare portatile cum debita reverentia et honore super quo in locis ad hoc congruentibus et honestis possis per proprium sacerdotem idoneum missam

et alia divina officia sine juris alieni prejuditio in tua presentia facere celebrari devotioni tue tenore presentium indulgemus. . . .—*Ibid.*

1395. The same. Licence to Walter Braytofte, canon of the Augustine Priory of Holy Trinity, near Aldgate, to have a confessor, and also a portable altar.

1418. Martin V. Licence to King Henry V, to have a portable altar.

1448. Nicholas V. Archbishop Kempe, of York, consecrated nine superaltars, on authority from the Pope, for different people.

1556. Cardinal Pole issued a pardon to Lord Berkeley, which contains a grant of a portable altar. This is given at length by Mr. Peacock (*Proc. Soc. Antiq., N. S.* xiii., p. 171). He there also gives an extract from *Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys*, which refers to the same document, as follows: "In the fourth of Queen Mary's reign, Anno 1556, Cardinal Poole, out of his Apostolical authority and Legateship from the Bishop of Rome, absolved this Lord Henry from all dangers of excommunications, which in the late time of Schisme in England hee had incurred: and granted to him the faculty to use his chapell in his manor of Callowdon, as of ancient time before the Schisme his ancestors had used the same; and to have there a portible altar to say masse, to receive the body and bloude of Christ, and to keep the same in a box covered with a fair sindon or linen cloth, with candle burning before it."

The following description of "a portable chapel," which occurs in the Inventory of the vestry of Westminster Abbey, 1388, well illustrates the provision for private services in changing localities:—

De . . . Capella portabili.

A case containing a gilt chalice, two cruets, one pix, one bell, one paxbrede silver gilt, one superaltar of alabaster, one "Rerdos" with frontal and super frontal, two Redelle (?), one alb with stole and maniple, one girdle, one chasuble, and one case with corporal of blue cloth of tartaryn variegated of one set, with two towels without "pallis," of the gift of Nicholas Litlington, Abbot.—*Archæologia*, 52, p. 276.

The rights of the various grades and descriptions of ecclesiastics were very jealously guarded, especially those of the parish priest. As the super-altar was portable and for use in various places, it is obvious that the possession of one with the right to use it for celebration of mass made the possessor independent—for private worship—

of the parish priest wherever he happened to be. It will be noticed, from the foregoing notes, that even the clergy themselves could not make use of them for their own devotions without a licence to do so. The King and Queen also were in the same position.

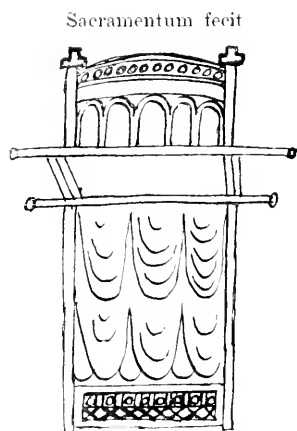
The grant of a super altar was usually accompanied by other privileges, as has been already indicated in the above notes, and is more fully in the following :—

1306. Clement V. To Queen Margaret.
 Licence to choose her confessor.
 Indult for her preacher to grant an indulgence of forty days.
 Indult to have mass said in places under an interdict.
 Indult to have divine service celebrated according to Paris use.
 Indult to have a portable altar.
1329. John XXII. To Queen Philippa.
 Indult that her confessor may hear the confessions of her household.
 Faculty to have a portable altar.
 Indult that her confessor shall give her plenary remission at the hour of death—being penitent.
 Indult to have mass celebrated before daylight.
 Indult that her confessor may grant a relaxation of 100 days of enjoined penance to penitents present when a bishop preaches in her presence, or of sixty days when another does so.
1331. John XXII. To Mary de Sancto Paulo, Countess of Pembroke.
 Indult for her confessor to give her plenary absolution—being penitent—at the hour of death.
 Indult to choose her confessor, to whom faculties are given.
 Indult for celebration of divine offices privately in places under interdict.
 Indult to have a portable altar.
 Indult to hear mass before daybreak.
 Indult that her chaplain or confessor shall administer to her the sacraments in any parish.

Also grants more limited, especially :—

- To choose confessor.
 Absolution in articulo mortis, being penitent.

Portable altars sometimes were made more important structures than mere slabs. The sketch on this page is a copy of the representation in the Bayeux Tapestry of the altar on which Harold took the fatal oath. The well-



Hic Harold Willelmo Duci.
Bayeux Tapestry.

known circumstance appears to indicate either that Harold did not notice that the consecrated slab was present on the altar, or that relics were not always bedded in these slabs but were removable, and could be placed underneath as required.



British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONGRESS, LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES, 1896.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21ST, TO SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26TH.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1896.

The fifty-third Congress of this Association was formally opened on Monday, the 21st inst., under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, who received a large party of archaeologists at the Mansion House at noon, and extended a hearty welcome to the gathering on behalf of the Corporation. The Archdeacon of Middlesex, Ven. R. Thornton, D.D., delivered an interesting inaugural address, which has been printed on pp. 1-7.

Canon Elwyn, D.D., received the party at the Charterhouse, and Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper and exhibited a plan, which will be printed hereafter.

From the Charterhouse the members proceeded to the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, which was described in full detail by Mr. Aston Webb. The vision of St. Bartholomew to Rahere, pointing out the propriety of his erecting a church in the suburbs of London, and the help given to this object by the Bishop of London, were discussed; and it was explained that the stone used in the fabric is derived from a large area around the City, the mason having gone as far as Reigate on the south and St. Albans on the north for his materials. This Austin church may be compared in some respects with that of St. Mary Overie, in Southwark. Rahere's altar-tomb still remains on the north side of the chancel, but the effigy has been wrongly said by some to be contemporary with his period. The canopy work was removed from another tomb and set up over this. The founder's remains were accidentally disturbed during the progress of some alterations which preceded those that are now in progress. The tower arches present the instructive example of round-headed and pointed arches of the same height and same date, those of the transepts belonging to the latter style, on account of the necessity that all four should be of equal height to support the weight of the central tower. Hogarth is recorded to have been baptised in the font, which is still remaining.

At the Temple Church, which was the next place arranged to be visited, Mr. F. A. Inderwick, Q.C., received a numerous party of

members, and pointed out the various ancient and mediæval objects of interest. Among them are the effigies of the Earl of Pembroke and a member of the family of De Ros, the memorials of John Selden and the "judicious" Hooker. The Library was visited, the principal points of interest examined, and the party were kindly entertained at tea by the authorities.

In the evening the members were present at a reception by the Library Committee of the Corporation of London in the Guildhall library, museum, and art gallery, where a large collection of antiquities was displayed. Among those which call for special notice are the City medals; the badges and livery medals of the principal companies; Mr. W. Rome's bronzes, terra-cottas, and coins; the ancient clocks and watches belonging to the Clockmakers' Company; Mr. Nelthropp's mosaics; and, above all, a selection of the original charters and royal privileges of the City, recently edited from various sources in the British Museum and elsewhere by Dr. W. de Gray Birch: who in his work has pointed out the paramount importance of preserving the texts themselves, and acting upon the powers which they contain—a duty which the Corporation is evidently very keenly aware of. The MSS. in the possession of the City exhibited on this occasion comprise the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, about 1724; the *Liber Horn*, circa, 1311; the *Liber Niger*, 1419; the *Liber de Assisa Panis*, of the fourteenth century; and the *Cartæ Antiquæ*, which it is surprising that no one has yet essayed to print, replete as this collection of ancient monastic and ecclesiastical texts is with materials little known. The Chamberlain, Sir Richard Cotton, exhibited the City's sceptre and the City's purse; and the department of the library, under charge of Mr. C. Welch, F.S.A., the librarian, for whose kind assistance on this occasion the Congress of the Association owes many thanks, exhibited a large number of manuscripts, early printed books, and luxuriously illustrated productions of the printer's and the wood-engraver's art. The museum collection of local antiquities comprehends, *inter alia*, some elegant examples of Roman and mediæval glass, Roman remains discovered on the site of the National Safe Deposit Company's premises near the Mansion House, some Roman sculptures and architectural fragments found in bastions of the London Wall in Camomile Street and Houndsditch, and a series of pilgrims' signs, found chiefly on the banks of the Thames.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1896.

The members and visitors assembled at King's Cross Station, Great Northern Railway, in time to depart for St. Albans by the 10.2 train. Carriages met the party at St. Albans Station, and drove to the

Cathedral, where a paper on the site of the ancient Roman City of Verulam, by B. Winstone, Esq., M.D., had been promised, but the heavy rain prevented this part of the programme from being carried out. The history and description of the Abbey Church, now the Cathedral of St. Alban, was given by Jas. Neale, Esq., F.S.A., who has put on record the following :—

NOTES AND DATES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF ST. ALBANS.

Roman.—The tiles from the ruined city Verulam re-used in the building of the Norman church by Abbot Paul.

Saxon.—The stone balusters in the transept re-used in the Norman church.

Norman.—The eastern part of nave, six bays on north side, choir, the bays on north and south sides, central tower, transept (church consecrated 1115), by Paul of Caen, 1077-1093.

The arcades of the slype, on south side of south transept, by Robert de Gorham, 1151-1166.

Early English.—Part of north-western porch, part of central-western porch, by John de Cella, 1195-1214.

Part of central-western porch, part of south-western porch, four western bays on north side of nave, five western bays on south side of nave, additions to choir windows, by William de Trumpington, 1214-1235.

Sanctuary and foundations of the eastern chapels, by John de Hertford, 1235-1260.

Part of ante-chapel to lady-chapel, by Roger de Nortone, 1260-1290.

Decorated.—Part of ante-chapel, lady-chapel, lower portion, by John de Berkhamstede, 1291-1301.

Part of ante-chapel, by John de Marynes, 1302-1308.

Completion of ante-chapel, lady-chapel, upper portion, five bays on south side of nave (fell down 1323. Rebuilding commenced by Eversdone; clerestory was completed later), the remains of the cloister wall-arcade, by Hugh de Eversdone, 1308-1326.

The remains of the cloister wall-arcade, by Richard de Walyngforde, 1326-1335.

The remains of the cloister wall-arcade, by Michael de Mentmore, 1335-1349.

Shrine of St. Alban, rood-screen, doorway in south aisle of choir, leading to east walk of cloister.

Perpendicular.—Shrine of St. Amphibalus (erected by Ralph Whytechirche, Sacrist), great gateway to the monastery, by Thomas de la Mare, 1349-1396.

High altar-screen, by William Walynforde, 1476-1484.

Triforium windows on north side of nave and choir, watching loft (about 1420), choir ceiling.

The principal monuments are the brass of Abbot de la Mare (executed in his lifetime), Thomas de la Mare, 1349-1396; Whethamstede's chapel, John de Whethamstede, 1420-1440; Duke of Gloucester's monument (died 1447), John Stoke, 1440-1451; Abbot Ramryge's sepulchral chapel, about 1522. Thomas Ramryge, was abbot from 1492. Early English tomb of the hermits Roger and Sigar.

In the afternoon the party left for Hatfield, where, by the kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, the famous historical house of Hatfield was viewed by the party, and its history given by Mr. Neale.

At the evening meeting in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall, the following papers were read :—

"Pleas of the Crown," by R. R. Sharpe, Esq., D.C.L.

"Old London Parish Churches," by Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A.

"Reflections on the Past Glories of Hatfield," by Miss Edith Bradley.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23RD, 1896.

The members of the Association visited Maidstone in good numbers, in spite of the very unfavourable morning. They were received by the Mayor (J. Barker, Esq.) and several members of the Corporation, at the old Palace, where the Mayor offered them a very cordial welcome to the county town. The Town Clerk (Herbert Monckton, Esq.) then exhibited as objects of deep archaeological interest the ancient maces of the borough, and explained their history. He pointed out that they were both of silver-gilt; the smaller of the two being the more interesting for its greater age, having been presented to the town by Protector Somerset, in the early part of Edward VI's reign; its head was crested with three bold crosses and as many *fleurs-de-lis*, and the Royal Arms of the Tudors on the top, the lower end having a broad button and scroll. The larger mace was not so old by nearly 100 years. It was presented to the borough by Mr. Ambrose Beale (one of the jurats) in 1640. It was surmounted by a crown, but in the year 1659, during the Mayoralty of Andrew Broughton (one of the regicides), this emblem of royalty had been removed. However, on the Restoration, Broughton being deposed from the Mayoralty, the crown was replaced (at the cost of £23 4s. 4d.), and Broughton only saved his life by flight to Geneva.

At the close of the Town Clerk's explanation, the Rev. J. Cave-

Browne gave a short outline of the history of the building, which he said was not rightly called a palace, that term being strictly confined to the residence of the Archbishop or Bishop adjoining his cathedral. This was only one of the score of manor houses belonging to the See of Canterbury, of which there are a dozen in the County of Kent, besides some outside.

Phillipott, in his *Villare Cantianum*, says that this manor was granted by William de Cornhill to Archbishop Stephen Langton about 1205 ; but we find from *Domesday* that 150 years before it had already been held by the Archbishop. It is probable that Cornhill's gift to the See was what was called the "Castle," lying on the south side of the church, of which the tower still stands. Archbishop Ufford seems to have been the first to contemplate converting, what was most likely little more than a casual resting-place for the primates in the course of their visitations, into a residence, but his death in 1349 left the work unfinished. His successor, Simon Islip, carried it on, and by the close of that century Maidstone's noble Archbishop Courtenaye made further additions, and died here. There is a traditional connection between this manor house and that at Wrotham. It is said, on no less authority than that of the old Canterbury chronicler, Jervaise, that in 1184 Archbishop Richard (of Dover), sleeping one night at the Wrotham manor-house, had an appalling dream, that a mysterious visitor came to his bedside and sternly rebuked him for his sins: saying that he was "scattering the goods of the Church;" and that he was so terrified that he fled from the place, and only reached Halling to die there. From that day Wrotham manor-house remained unvisited by any Archbishop, and soon fell into ruin. Archbishop Islip, seeing the picturesque position of the one at Maidstone, had all the substantial materials removed here from Wrotham, and utilised them in this building. Henry VI paid Archbishop Chichele a visit here, and so did Henry VIII in the time of Cranmer. That visit seems to have sealed the fate of the manor-house. When the college was suppressed the manor-house was bestowed by the King on Sir Henry Wyat, of Allington Castle, but his over-patriotic son, Sir Thomas, in his endeavour to resist the Spanish Alliance of Queen Mary, fell a victim to his zeal, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown, and with them Maidstone manor-house. A few years after, Elizabeth conferred the manor-house on her favourite Master of the Jewels, Sir John Astley, in whose family it remained for some years, but eventually passed into other hands. There are but few traces of its earlier occupants: a small two-light window points to the time of Islip, and a coign on the west face on the river side marks the addition made by

Courtenaye to Islip's work ; while in an upper room is still to be seen a fireplace with the Arms of Warham in the spandril, and over the mantelpiece in the hall the five-plumed crest of the Astleys. The house was long occupied by two families ; and now, since 1887, is the property of the Corporation, and is leased, room by room, to different local societies.

At the close of this account, the visitors passed on to the parish church of All Saints, where they were received by Mr. Alderman Spencer, one of the Churchwardens, in the absence of the Vicar, the Rev. E. F. Dyke. Here the Rev. J. Cave-Browne proceeded to give a short account of the building, and to point out its most striking archaeological features. He mentioned that its proportions in every part had struck the Archbishop, when preaching on the occasion of the re-opening after the restoration in 1886, as being in every part multiples of the figure 3, probably symbolical of the Trinity. The date of the present building, if judged by the windows externally, would be of the time of Archbishop Courtenaye, at the end of the fourteenth century ; but the tower and two or three doorways on the inside, as well as the clerestories, point to an earlier period, and suggest that the windows, all of which on the north side are identical in size and character, were insertions into already existing walls. That a still earlier church had stood on almost the same lines was shown by the discovery, during the alteration, of several tiles about a foot below the present level of the floor, some of which have been preserved ; and on being exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries were pronounced to be of the beginning of the fourteenth century. There were originally four chantry chapels with altars ; the earliest being that in the end of the north aisle, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whose image no doubt stood in a decorated niche in the outside angle ; on the opposite aisle stood the altar of St. Katherine, in later years better known as the " Vineter's" or " Gould's Chapel," so called from the Robert de Vineter (or Vyntier) who endowed it in 1368, or from the estate with which he endowed it, which still retains its name of Gould's Manor ; at the east end of the south aisle of the chancel stood the altar of St. Thomas, and in the opposite choir-aisle that which was assigned for the use of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi.

It was originally a rectory, with two chapelries attached, Detling and Loose ; and considering the distinguished names which appear on the list of its early rectors, most of them foreigners, it must have been regarded as one of the wealthiest benefices, one of the "plums" of the English Church. But it had evidently deteriorated in value in the later years of the fourteenth century, and this led Archbishop

Courtenaye to transfer to it the revenues of the chapel attached to the hospital on the opposite side of the river (of which presently), and to give it a collegiate character, changing it from the Rectory of St. Mary to the College of All Saints, and with this view he transformed the interior arrangements, adapting them to the use of a Warden and Fellows. But when the suppression of the monasteries came, its collegiate character involved it in that general swoop of appropriation; and, with the Warden and surviving Fellows pensioned, the poor parish was left as a lien on the courtier, who in this case happened to be Sir Henry Wyat, of Allington Castle, who received the manor, with the charge of a bare pittance to be paid (if he could get it) to the "curate," who now represented the once ample staff of the College. Thus within 150 years the grand design of Archbishop Courtenaye for the spiritual benefit of the town was nullified and sacrificed to the greed of the hungry courtiers of Henry VIII. When we reflect on the years of neglect through which this noble church has passed, we can only wonder that so much beauty has been preserved to it, and so much remains to bear witness to the high standard which the art, supported by the pious munificence of the Middle Ages, had attained. Its recent restoration reflects the highest credit on Mr. Pearson, F.S.A.

Of the monuments, that which now lies as a paving-stone in the centre of the choir is the most historic. It marks the burial-place of the Archbishop whose name is primarily associated with the building, William Courtenaye. Though long since robbed of what must have once been a gorgeous brass, the matrix of the figure, the shields, the rich and canopied border, and the scroll, all combine to proclaim, in opposition to the claim set up at Canterbury on behalf of a tomb without figure, shield, or scroll, that Maidstone, and not Canterbury, possesses the remains of her favourite Archbishop. On the under-side of the *miserere* seats, too, are evidence of Courtenaye's affection in the many escutcheons in which nearly all the chief members of his family are represented. Another tombstone, in the chancel, also deprived of its brass, is supposed to have once contained the effigies of Earl Rivers, the father of the Queen of Edward IV. One of the striking features of this chancel may be detected in the unusual arrangement of the *sedilia*: four seats on one level, under a light, graceful stone canopy of five compartments. Immediately behind the *sedilia*, in the north chapel, we meet with an altar-tomb of the fifteenth century. It was erected, as is supposed, by Archbishop Arundel, from whom this chapel is called, to the memory of Dr. Wotton, the first warden of the college, who enjoyed the favour and respect of

Archbishop Courtenaye and his successor. At the back of this tomb, and, indeed, resting on the inner border of it, rises a background of stone, serving as a back also to the *sedilia*, on which was once an elaborate fresco, now almost obliterated; here were represented the Virgin, seated in her chair; while an angel is presenting to her, in the form of a very diminutive man, robed in white, the *soul* of Dr. Wotton; and standing by are St. Katherine and St. Thomas, comprising in the one group the three patron saints of the several altars that stood in the church. In this chapel are traces of the piscina, and also of the stoup, beside which the priest's door originally stood; though that has now disappeared to make room for a comparative modern door into the vestry.

From the church the party passed across the road to inspect what remained of the college buildings. These were shown to have represented three periods, the tower nearest to the river being probably the site, if not actually a part, of the castle presented by Cornhill to Archbishop Stephen Langton. Above it, extending up to the gateway, lay the refectory of the college, and above it the dormitories, as the fireplace above the lower windows still shows; but the intermediate ceiling and floor being removed, it is now one lofty room open to the rafters, and is used as a schoolroom for boys. Entrance to this is by the main gateway, evidently the work of Courtenaye, and forming the north boundary of the college group; while some two hundred yards further south stand the ruins of a corresponding gateway that marked the southern boundary. Between these would have lain the other buildings of the college, but time and neglect have reduced these to a two-storied house, where the modernising improvements have wholly obliterated all that once formed the college itself. In the upper storey of the south gateway is a fairly spacious room which retains many features of interest, and is now used as a masonic hall.

From the college the move was then made to St. Peter's Church, the oldest piece of ecclesiastical building that Maidstone can boast. Its history carries us back to the middle of the twelfth century. It was built by Archbishop Boniface, as part of a hospitale, or resting-house, for the pilgrims and other wayfarers along the London road, which formerly ran under its east wall. It had its master and six corrodiars, or prebendaries, for the ministrations of the chapel. In the course of time pilgrimages went out of fashion, and when Archbishop Courtenaye succeeded to the primacy he found the priestly character of the corrodiars had disappeared, and the offices were being filled by a class of inferior laymen, something like the bedesmen of Charterhouse. But it was still rich in endowments, having the patronage of more than

one valuable benefice. His practical mind at once saw the advantage of utilising these endowments, now virtually misapplied, to better purpose, and transferred the revenues to his newly-founded College of All Saints. In the course of time the range of buildings, no longer needed, fell into decay ; all that remained was the chapel, and it had in the beginning of this century been turned into a store-shed for a neighbouring brewery which had risen up on the river bank ; and thus it remained till the year 1836, when the Rev. F. F. Haslewood (*t*), at the time curate of the parish church, was able to rescue it from its degraded condition, and by partial and very careful restoration of the chancel, restore it for sacred use ; since which time it has, with subsequent ill-planned additions, been used as St. Peter's Church. The archæologist, as he faces the east window can still enjoy, and cannot but revel in, the site of a very graceful triplet of lancet windows, with their elegant Purbeck marble shafts, which carry back the mind to the very day when Boniface originally dedicated it in the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, in 1262.

On leaving St. Peter's Church an adjournment was made to the Town Hall, where the Mayor, J. Barker, Esq., had provided a sumptuous lunch for the visitors.

At the close of the luncheon, the Mayor proposed, in very appropriate terms, the health of Her Majesty the Queen : making happy mention that on that very day Her Majesty's reign had exceeded in length that of any previous monarch on England's throne.

Sir F. Seager Hunt rose to express his sense of the Mayor's general administration during his year of office ; and Mr. Blashill, as Treasurer of the British Archæological Association, begged to be allowed, in the name of the members present, to thank the Mayor for his gracious reception and bountiful hospitality.

A visit was paid to the refectory of Corpus Christi Fraternity, in Earl Street, now used as cooperage for Messrs. Fremlin's brewery, and in which are still to be seen in the windows the tracery, though time-worn and dilapidated, of the old stone-work of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The day's sight-seeing was brought to a close at the Museum, where the Curator, Mr. F. James, gave a brief sketch of its history, from the days of its being the "Chillington Manor-house." In the fourteenth century it belonged to the Cobham family, from whom it passed in succession to the Maplesdens, the Barhams (families of some position in Maidstone), until it came to the Wyats of Allington Castle. It in recent years became the property of the Maidstone Corporation. Its present wealth of objects of interest and value is

primarily due to the late Mr. Julius Brenchley, who presented to it his vast collection works of art and natural history, and especially the results of his travels in the then almost unexplored regions in the South Pacific. To these have been added, from time to time, the contributions and bequests of the successive curators, Mr. Charles and Mr. Pretty, and other local benefactors. Attached to the manor-house, as galleries, are the framework of more than one old hall or manor-house from neighbouring villages ; and perhaps most interesting of all these, that of the original St. Faith's Church, which formerly stood in the adjoining garden.

In the evening the Master of the Clothworkers' Company (Mr. J. W. Sugg, F.G.S.) received the party at Clothworkers' Hall. Amongst those present were the Archdeacon of Middlesex, the Rev. Prebendary Whittington and Miss Whittington ; Dr. Phené, F.S.A. (Warden of the Clothworkers' Company), the Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma ; Mr. T. Blashill (Treasurer) ; Mr. G. Patrick and Dr. de Gray Birch (Hon. Secretaries) ; Mr. S. Rayson, Mr. W. Essington Hughes, Col. Roberts and Mrs. Roberts, Mr. C. Welch, F.S.A., Mr. and Mrs. Lynam, Mr. C. H. Compton and Miss Compton, Mrs. Collier, Mrs. Marshall, Mr. Alderman Fry, Mr. H. Batten, Mrs. Sims Reeves, Miss Hunt Holley, Mr. and Mrs. Fairfax Harvey, Mr. T. Dillon Croker, F.S.A., Mr. T. Bush, Mr. J. Bush, Mr. and Mrs. R. Bush, Mr. and Mrs. Horsfall, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. W. Payne, Mr. Wyndham Holdgate, Mr. H. Payne, Mrs. Day, and Miss Bradley.

The Master received his guests in the large drawing-room, and the company then adjourned to an adjoining room, where a paper on "Old London" was read by Dr. Phené, F.S.A., a V.-P., and a Warden of the Clothworkers' Company. The lecturer illustrated and explained his remarks by means of maps and plans of Roman and pre-Roman London, which were displayed on screens. There were also on view specimens of Roman bricks, sandstone carvings, and schist, exhumed by Dr. Phené on the site of the traditionary Roman temple at Westminster, and exhibited on this occasion for the first time. After a few preliminary explanations Dr. Phené proceeded to argue, from references to classical authors, that the great roads of commerce, usually called Roman ways, must have existed long prior to the Roman invasion. The principal proof of this was the fact that Cæsar himself referred to the "well-known roads and ways." The lecturer supported this view by reference to the commercial traffic, which must have been considerable ; the large trading fleets mentioned by Cæsar as being in the Rhine, Seine, and other continental rivers ; the corresponding roads of traffic south of the Channel, still recognised by French *sarants* ; and

the exchange of metal for foreign imports. A comparison was drawn between the dwellings of the citizens of pre-Roman London, those of the Gauls, and those of the inhabitants of Rome, where an enormous expenditure on domestic buildings was customary, which rendered Cæsar's description of the houses in Britain very emphatic. The ford by which Cæsar crossed the Thames was probably at Chelsea, such a ford having been found on repeated surveys at that place. That view was supported from evidences of a large number of Roman and native arms and armours found from time to time near that ford, and also from the presence of many crania of opposite types, which were discovered when Chelsea Bridge was built, deeply blackened by long deposit in the mud of the Thames. The native method of fording at low tide, still maintained between Alderney and France, would have enabled the Romans to cross the river at so short a distance from London. Reference was made to the late Mr. Roach Smith's discoveries of the Roman river wall, into which were built architectural sculptured columns, friezes, and cornices, which showed that, old as was the wall, it was built with materials of pre-existing decorated stone buildings. Dr. Phené then described a similar discovery made by himself on the site of part of the present National Liberal Club, near Whitehall. The old portion of the building was purchased by him, and removed to make way for the club. At some 16 ft. below the surface, a structure built of blocks of schist and sandstone was discovered; and a large sum of money was expended on the careful separation of each block, which carried the excavation downwards more than 20 ft., and considerably below high-water mark. The upper part of that ancient structure had been repaired to prepare for a subsequent erection; and within the external faces of a thick wall had been placed, with a number of Roman bricks, a quantity of delicately carved architectural enrichments, sculptured in the same hard, close-grained sandstone as that composing the base of the structure, the whole corresponding with Mr. Roach Smith's discovery of the Roman river wall. Some of the blocks of sandstone and schist, which he (Dr. Phené) removed, were nearly half a ton in weight, and owing to the expense of transportation several of the largest blocks of sandstone about 9 ft. long were left, and were subsequently used in the foundations of the club. Drawings had been made before the removal of the base of the structure, the dimensions of which appeared to have been a solid square of 20 ft., about 5 ft. in height; but from some stray blocks found in excavating it was argued that the structure may have been much higher. There were three distinct styles of erection and materials above the base, one over the other, the most modern being

of fifteenth-century masonry. As a Roman pagan temple was traditionally held to have occupied a site at Westminster, he assumed that the relics were portions of its remains. Some further details were given, and specimens of the Roman bricks, sandstone carvings, and schist, with the different kinds of mortar still adhering to each, varying from the hardness of cement to that of ordinary mortar, were exhibited, and examined by the company with much interest. At the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Phené for his interesting lecture.

Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., Librarian of Lambeth, had sent a paper on "Kent and the Lambeth Archives", which was, however, postponed to a future occasion.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1886.

The party assembled at the Holborn Viaduct Station, London, Chatham and Dover Railway, in time for the 9.2 train to Rochester Bridge. The Cathedral was visited, and its history related and architecture described by the Rev. G. M. Livett, B.A. After partaking of luncheon, Mr. Geo. Payne, F.S.A., met the party in the Castle Garden, and described the Castle and mural defences of the ancient city. Mrs. Payne kindly entertained the party at tea in the gardens.

At the Evening Meeting in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall, 8.30 P.M., the following papers were read:—

"S. Uncumber", by the Rev. Dr. Sparrow Simpson, F.S.A., V.-P., Sub-Dean of St. Paul's (see pp. 8-30).

"St. Mary le Savoy" and "The Old Palace and Hospital", by Mrs. Collier.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1886.

The Members and Visitors set out from the Hotel in Private Omnibuses at 10 A.M. for Lambeth Palace, where Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., Hon. Curator of the Library, described the buildings and related the history of the Palace.

After luncheon at the Westminster Palace Hotel in Victoria Street, at 1 P.M., a visit was made to Fulham Palace, which was described by Dr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. The remarks are printed on pp. 44-49.

The Parish Church, rebuilt some years ago, was visited, and Thos. Woodhouse, M.D., read a short paper upon the ancient monuments preserved in the church and churchyard. In the evening there was a brilliant Reception by invitation at the Hall of the Worshipful

Company of Mercers, in Cheapside, at 8.30 p.m., where the following papers were read :—

“Notes on the Forest of Essex”, by J. H. Round, Esq., M.A. (see pp. 38-43).

“The History of Waltham Abbey”, by C. H. Compton, Esq., V.-P.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26TH, 1896.

The Members and Visitors assembled at Liverpool Street Station, Great Eastern Railway, in time for the train to Waltham Abbey. Carriages met the party for the drive by Queen Eleanor's Cross to the Abbey Church, which was described by Chas. Lynam, Esq., F.R.I.B.A. The drive was resumed through Epping Forest to High Beech, where, at the King's Oak Hotel, luncheon was partaken of. About 2.45 the drive was continued through the Forest to Chingford, where a short visit was paid to the interesting Museum of Local Antiquities.

The train from Chingford Station to Liverpool Street conveyed the Members back to London in time for the Closing Meeting.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20TH, 1897.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the Society*, for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects"
Vol. iv, 3rd Series, First Quarterly Part.
" " for "Journal of the Powys-land Club", Part LVII,
December 1896.
" " for "Journal of the Wiltshire Archaeological and
Natural History Society", No. LXXXVI, Dec. 1896, vol. xxix.
" " " for "Abstracts of Wiltshire Inquisitions
Post Mortem", Part IV.
" " for "Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and
Natural History Society", vol. xlii.
" " for "Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,
vol. vi, Part 2. New Series.
To the Smithsonian Institution for "Methods of determining Organic
Matter in the Air", by D. H. Bergey, M.D.
" " for "Index to Genera and Species of the
Foraminifera", by L. D. Sherborn. Part II.
" " for "Argon", by Lord Rayleigh.
" " for "Contributions to Knowledge", vols.
xxx, xxxi, and xxxii.
From the Author, Mr. R. Burnard, for "Explorations of Carn Brê".
" Dr. Brushfield, for "Raleghana".
" " for "Devonshire Briefs", Part II.

A paper by Dr. Fairbank, F.S.A., on "Portable Altars", was read in the author's absence by Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, illustrated by sketches made by the author. A lengthy discussion on this very

interesting subject followed, in which Mr. Dobson, the Rev. Cave-Browne, and others took part. It has been printed on pp. 55-63.

Mrs. Collier exhibited an interesting woodcut representing St. Blaise,¹ the patron saint of woolcombers; also some illustrations of frescoes in Bardwell Church, near Ixworth, Bury St. Edmunds, the subject being St. Christopher. Mr. Dobson remarked that St. Blaise was a common sign in the neighbourhood of Bradford.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1897.

T. BLASHILL, ESQ., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

An interesting exhibition of prehistoric implements was made by Mr. G. F. Lawrence, of Wandsworth, including a unique specimen of a weapon of stag's horn, still retaining its wooden handle, thought to be of blackthorn, which was recently found in the Thames at Hammer-smith. This must have been a very effective weapon, from the toughness of the horn and the pliancy of the handle, in a fierce hand-to-hand combat.

“ON THE DISCOVERY OF A PREHISTORIC HORN WEAPON, RETAINING ITS ORIGINAL WOODEN HANDLE, IN THE THAMES, NEAR LONDON.

“I have the honour of presenting to your notice this evening a unique object of interest in the shape of a horn weapon, with its handle. These curious relics have been found in fairly large numbers in the beds of the Thames and Seine, peat bogs of Denmark, and the Swiss lakes; but whether they were in general use, as is most likely, or only used to any extent in marshy districts, is hard to determine, as only a few instances have occurred in which they have been found in barrows of the Bronze Age in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Wiltshire. There are two distinct types, or perhaps three. One is short, and undoubtedly a hammer, while another is long, and cut off at an angle, thus forming an effective point. These latter occur of various lengths from 7 ins. or 8 ins. to 15 ins., and even 18 ins., while a third type occasionally is found, in which, although the horn is long, yet it is cut off squarely at the end and forms much more of a hammer than the second type.

¹ Blaise, and Jason of the Golden Fleece, appear together on a seal of Youghal, co. Cork, formerly a great place for woollen manufactures, in Dr. W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, vol. iv, No. 17,395.

"There are also three apparent periods during which these things were used, as evidenced by the form of the shaft-hole. In the earliest, the hole is large and hacked out unevenly, and is somewhat square: this form is probably Stone Age, and the hole made with stone tools. In the next period the hole is round and perfectly drilled, and this type has been found in Bronze Age barrows, therefore they were made in the Bronze Age.

"In the third the hole is oval, and shows that early man found that by making the hole of this form the weapon was not liable to turn round in using as it was when circular, and also shows that man was much more advanced in the art of drilling to be able to make an oval hole. The process of making these horn things was as follows:—First, the horn was selected, and then lines were removed by cutting deep notches in the horn at the part decided upon. When deeply notched a smart tap broke the horn off, and this was done wherever necessary; the oblique end must have been formed in a different way, either by rubbing down at an angle—as in early times—or by means of saws, which could only have been easily done when saws were of metal, as flint saws from their size would not go deeply enough into the horn to be effectual. One or two specimens have been found where the whole of the rough outside of the horn has been removed and the surface polished, and in one instance a diamond pattern was cut on the implement. In the specimen before you, you will see how these, until now enigmatical things, were hafted and used. The handle is of a 'thorn wood', most probably blackthorn, and that is no doubt the reason that it has been preserved, from its innate toughness. The wood has, of course, now shrunk, but when it was first discovered it fitted quite tightly; the reason it has not shrivelled more is that it has been lying in a solution (kindly recommended to me by Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum) for over a fortnight, and this has hardened the wood.

"This, no doubt, must have been a formidable weapon amongst the denizens of the Thames valley; the toughness of the horn and the pliancy of the handle giving it great weight in a hand-to-hand combat, the fierceness of which we cannot conceive in these civilized days. Before closing, I may remark that in the Yorkshire pile dwellings, and in a few instances in the Thames, the leg bones of oxen and other large animals were used in the same way for weapons; but the greater difficulty of boring bone must have made the use of the more kindly stag's horn more general."

Mr. Earle Way exhibited two specimens of Cyprian pottery and a

whistle, together with a pretty little model of a quern in soapstone, and a bronze bracelet from Egypt.

Mr. Hoyle exhibited a translucent jade earring, from New Zealand, about ten miles from Christchurch, the hole in which had been made by a stone instrument close to the edge, but yet without in any way injuring the jade.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., read a short paper descriptive of the discovery of a Roman house at Burham, in Kent, upon the property of the Burham Brick, Lime, and Cement Company, which, by whose invitation and generous assistance Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., of Rochester, and himself, had recently had the opportunity of disinterring. It is printed above at pp. 31-35. This was illustrated by plans and drawings from sketches made and measured on the spot by the author, and by numerous photographs taken by Mr. Payne of the various features and phases of the excavations.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1897.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Members were duly elected :—

W. Richard Ward, Esq., The Mill House, Sutton Valence,
Staplehurst.

G. R. Crickmay, Esq., 6, Keswick Road, East Putney, S.W.

Mrs. McMillan, 33, Barrington Road, Brixton, S.W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for “Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries”,
2nd Series, vol. xvi, No. 2; and “Archæological Survey of
Hereford and Lancashire”, two parts.

„ „ for “Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association”,
5th series, No. 53, vol. xiv.

„ „ for “Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute”
2nd Series, vol. iii, No. 4.

„ „ for “Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland”,
5th Series, vol. vi, Part 4.

„ „ for “Journal of the Brussels Archæological Society”,
January 1897.

A paper entitled “London under the Monastic Orders” was read by Miss Edith Bradley; which was well illustrated by maps of the city, indicating in different colours the sites of the many religious

houses which existed, both within and without the walls, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Miss Bradley noticed in detail many of the houses, arranging them in groups under the Orders to which they belonged. Thus, the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, the Augustine Canons, and the three orders of Friars were each in turn described, and the circumstances of the foundation of the several houses were related. The Cistercians apparently possessed but one abbey in London, that of "St. Mary Graces," on Tower Hill, founded by King Edward III in 1349. He called it "Eastminster," in contradistinction to Westminster. The King and his grandson richly endowed it, and it was regarded as of great importance; notwithstanding which, only the very scantiest knowledge of it remains. It was surrendered in 1539, and was valued at £602 11s. 6d., according to Speed. The names of its two earlier abbots alone are known, viz.: William de Sancta Cruce, 1349, and William Warden, 1360. The site it occupied is now covered with victualling store-houses and biscuit bakeries for the Royal Navy; not a trace or fragment of its walls remains.

It is not generally known, but it is stated on authority, according to Miss Bradley, that even Westminster Abbey had a very narrow escape from similar destruction at the hands of the Protestant Vandal, the Protector Somerset, when he required stone for the building of his palace in the Strand; this, however, he obtained by demolishing instead the Priory of St. John, Clerkenwell.

The paper was listened to with great interest, and conveyed a good impression of the power and influence wielded by the religious Orders in London, and showed what a large space they must had in the making of the history of our great city during the mediæval centuries. At the conclusion of the paper, the Chairman expressed, what he felt was the feeling of all present, the obligation they were under to Miss Bradley for the comprehensive and Catholic spirit in which she treated her subject; and brought so prominently forward the great benefit which the monastic Orders conferred on the country in preserving religion and learning, in times when but for their existence the country would have sunk into barbarism and gross darkness.

A very animated and interesting discussion ensued, in which Mr. Blashill, Hon. Treasurer, spoke of the value of the Ordnance Maps in identifying the sites of the religious houses, and in other ways enabling us to illustrate the life of the old city.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., pointed out that, although the Great Fire was destructive of the majority of the churches of old London, yet much of their walls must have remained standing, and their foundations,

of course, were untouched ; and in that connection it is interesting to know, on the authority of Mr. Geo. H. Birch, that the present church of Christ Church, Newgate Street, is built upon the actual foundation walls of the eastern portion of the old church of the Grey Friars' monastery, the nave of which extended considerably further to the west, covering the site of the present burial-ground.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch made many interesting observations on the methods of giving land in the middle ages.

The Rev. J. Cave-Browne, Rev. H. J. Duckinfield Astley, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, Mrs. Collier, and the Chairman, joined in the discussion.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD MARCH, 1897.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Miss Johnston, 30A, Sackville Street, was duly elected a member.

A paper was read by Mr. Thomas Blashill, entitled "Some Certificates as to Recusants in Holderness," which was full of most interesting and valuable information upon a comparatively but little known subject. The inconveniences and discomforts our forefathers in the the early years of the seventeenth century were subjected to, when they refused to attend religious worship in the churches, were curiously exemplified in the many original documents exhibited in illustration of the paper, all of which were about the same date, A.D. 1616. These certificates shed considerable light upon the operation of the law in the centre of Holderness ; which at that time, as the author remarked, "was by its remoteness and by the absence of good roads more than usually secluded from the outside world." The church services were held twice a day on the Sabbath, morning and afternoon usually, but sometimes in the evening, and all persons were expected to attend or to produce a valid excuse. Good excuses were recognised in old age, sickness, or the care of sick persons or young children ; absence from home also was admitted to be a good excuse. Failing such accepted excuses, persons absent from church were certified by the churchwardens to the justices of the peace, and were fined accordingly. Some of the certificates stated how the fines were disposed of. The vigilance of the churchwardens was chiefly directed against the Roman Catholic recusants, who utterly refused to conform to the established religion. The Quakers also were another class of nonconformists who were recusants. The recusants appear to have been mostly women of the Popish faith. The penalties were not always

limited to small fines—4s. in one case is the amount—in other cases the offenders were excommunicated. It would appear that, taken as a whole, the people of Holderness were fairly good church-goers.

In the discussion following the paper, the Chairman, Mr. Rayson, Mrs. Collier, Mr. Patrick, and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH MARCH, 1897.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected :—

Ernest Callard, Esq., North Hill, Kilburn Priory, N.W.

Thanks were ordered to be returned—

To the Society, for the “Annual Report of the Archaeological Society of Brussels, 1897.”

The Hon. Sec. announced that it had been decided to hold the Congress this year at Conway, upon the invitation of the Mayor and Corporation.

Mrs. Collier read an interesting paper on “The Church and Painted Glass at Bowness on Windermere,” which edifice, she said, appeared not to have received as much notice from antiquaries as it deserved. The church is dedicated to St. Martin, but the actual date of its erection is not recorded. It is a very ancient structure, and some of the materials employed in its construction have been traced to Roman origin, and were probably brought from a Roman station which is known to have been established in the neighbourhood. Like most of the churches in the Lake district, it is simple and rudimentary in construction, consisting—until the recent additions—of a nave and aisles, chancel, and a low spare embattled tower at the west end. The principal entrance is by a porch in the south aisle, but there is a narrow arched door at the east end of the same aisle, and a similar one at the west end of the north aisle. The east window is of late Perpendicular work without tracery or other enrichment, and the arches, capitals and bases of the columns are equally devoid of all ornamentation; and until recently were covered with successive coats of whitewash. St. Martin's was anciently a chapelry in the parish of Kendal, some miles distant; and though now a separate parish, the Rector of Bowness still pays a pension of 13s. 4d. to the Vicar of Kendal in token of submission to the mother-church. In the year 1864 some curious inscriptions and texts were accidentally discovered painted on the walls

beneath the coats of whitewash. They consist of quotations from Robert Openshaw's catechism, and relate to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and belong to the age of Jas. I.

The chief feature of interest in the church is the painted glass in the east window, which was brought into prominent notice during the process of restoration in 1873. This glass is considered by competent authorities to date from about the year 1480, and to have been originally in the Priory of Cartmell, near Grange, whence it was removed to Bowness about 1523.

A second paper was read by Mr. Patrick, Hon. Sec., in the absence of the author, Mr. H. Syer Cuning, F.S.A.Scot., upon "Mead and Mead Vessels". The author traced the origin of the beverage known as Mead, or Metheglin, so much appreciated by the Britannie tribes and the Teutonic nations, from the hydromel of the classic age, and brought its history down to the latter part of the last century. Pliny knew it, and called it a wine made solely of honey and water: rain-water, after being kept for five years, being best for the purpose; "though some", he says, "boiled down fresh rain to one third of the quantity gathered, to which they added one third in quantity of old honey, and kept the mixture exposed to the rays of a hot sun for forty days after the rising of the Dog-star." Sometimes it was racked off in the course of ten days, and preserved in vessels tightly stoppered. The vessels in which the Metheglin was stored, and in which it was brought to table, were particularly described, and drawings illustrative of examples of mead cups and pots, several of which are in the author's collection, were exhibited. These vessels are reputed to have been in early ages, amongst the Keltic chieftains, of gold and silver, and jewelled as well as of glass; but those which have come down to our days are made of various woods, wrought out of single blocks of beech, oak, elm, pine, walnut, willow, sycamore and yew, sometimes ornamented with incised lines, and some bearing dates and initials. They were called Meadars, or Methers, and the author considered that the famous Dunvegan cup, in the Isle of Skye, was only an oaken Methar of bizarre design, mounted on four silver legs; and he believed its antiquity must be brought down from the tenth century to the end of the fifteenth century. Both the papers were illustrated, and elicited much discussion.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Church Briefs, or Royal Warrants for Collections for Charitable Objects. By WYNDHAM ANSTIS BEWES, LL.B.(Lond.), of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, author of *The Law of Waste*, etc. (London : Adam and Charles Black, 1896).—The subject-matter of this work is one of considerable interest to antiquaries, to clergy of the Church of England, and to all who care to tread the by-paths of history. The royal prerogative, assumed after the Reformation, of issuing briefs for collections in churches and from house to house, is a direct continuation of the jurisdiction previously exercised by the Popes of Rome, either together with or without the royal licence to gather alms.

The greater number of briefs were issued for church building and to repair damage by fire, inundation, or storm, and each of these are matters of importance as far as local histories are concerned : but most readers will find greater interest in the briefs that were issued for what may be called international objects. The records of our British collections for the relief of the persecuted foreign Protestants, whether in their own country or as refugees, for building Protestant churches abroad, for ransoming captives taken by the Mediterranean pirates or the Turks, and for inhabitants of countries like the Palatinates and the Principality of Orange, overrun by hostile armies, exhibit the generosity of our people in an admirable, though perhaps neglected, light. The munificence accorded to the Vaudois Protestants in 1665, and in several subsequent collections, to the Polish Protestants in 1657, to the Irish Protestants, to the refugees from France on many occasions during the seventeenth century, etc., combines to form a record of national charity of which we may well be proud ; while the collections for the promotion of the Herring fishery, for the relief of local fisheries, for harbour works, for loss caused by the cattle plague, for damage occasioned by the French at Teignmouth and other places, open out a wide view of the variety of objects selected for sympathetic contribution. Care has been bestowed in preserving original orthography ; and portions of original records in the British Museum and Record Office, and the City of London, Bodleian, William Salt (Stafford), and Chetham (Manchester) libraries have been printed.

The author has performed his laborious task of inspecting many

hundreds of documents, tabulating their contents, and arranging them in order, in a very creditable manner. The collections at the British Museum are very numerous, many of the originals still retaining the great seal of the sovereign in whose reign they were issued. The gain to local history would be very great if the paragraphs relating to the accidental fires and other misfortunes, which are sometimes related with much detail and at considerable length, could be printed: but this would have materially enlarged what is already a volume of substantial size. Henceforth local historians will need to consult Mr. Bewes' work before it can be said that they have exhausted all original sources of information that are available; and we venture to think that many of the events which the author has herein recorded have never yet been chronicled by writers of parochial histories, to whom Church Briefs were practically inaccessible. The work also has its legal aspect, and its value for genealogical purposes is self-evident. There is no doubt it will be frequently consulted and often quoted for a variety of purposes.

A History of Margam Abbey, in Glamorganshire; derived from the Original Documents in the British Museum, H.M. Record Office, the Margam Muniments, etc., with numerous Illustrations: by W. DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., of the British Museum, late Hon. Sec. British Archaeological Association: Editor of the *Cartularium Sacconiunum* and the *Liber Vite* of Hyde Abbey, is now finished, and is being issued to Subscribers in one volume, large octavo, price One Guinea.—The history of this Cistercian Abbey (which was visited by the Association during the recent Congress at Cardiff), one of the most interesting monasteries of Great Britain, has only really been within range of possible preparation for the last few years, when the materials for adequate research have been promulgated in various recent works. The deeds now known, which relate to this house, are very numerous, and they throw much light, not only on the constitution of the Abbey and extent of its possessions and its influence, but on the genealogy and descent of a large number of families of South Wales and the adjacent parts, on the local history of many neighbouring places, and on the manners and customs and historical events of the Principality. The work treats critically of several obscure points in the history of the Abbey. It is illustrated with facsimiles of charters and seals, and views and drawings of some of the architectural and sepulchral remains; and the whole of the documents have been passed under review. We hope to give a review of this work, with a reproduction of some of the illustrations, in the June part of the *Journal*. Mr. Birch will be glad to receive a few more names of subscribers without delay.

The Gentleman's Magazine Library: English Topography, Part IX: Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Rutlandshire. Edited by F. A. MILNE, M.A. (Stock, 1897).—This valuable series of reprints of topographical articles, contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* upwards of a century ago, is progressing apace under the supervision of that indefatigable antiquary, Mr. G. L. Gomme, F.S.A. We all turn to the magazine as a veritable storehouse of forgotten facts, and its pages never fail to attract, to enlighten, and to astonish us. The contributors, if prolix and old-fashioned, were, on the whole, trusty. They faithfully described what they saw and heard of; and many of the things they saw and heard of are, alas! now no longer in existence. Hence the value of the descriptions, which Mr. Milne has digested, arranged, and edited, with a painstaking and a research that makes the series really valuable as well as entertaining. Probably the whole set of topography will require twenty volumes for its entire form, but they will make a noble record of the antiquarian ideas and observations of the last century, which, with but few exceptions, were as accurate as our own to-day. It is well, therefore, that they are recast in the elegant manner in which Mr. Stock has issued them to the world of letters, which ought to appreciate them.

Letters, Archaeological and Historical, relating to the Isle of Wight. By the late Rev. E. BOUCHER JAMES, M.A. (London: Frowde, 1896: 2 vols. 8vo).—These articles or letters upon the ancient and mediæval antiquities of the Isle of Wight are now for the first time published in a collected form, having originally appeared in the local press. They range widely over many subjects of diverse matter: from the ancient inhabitants, the Romans, and the Christian missionaries, to modern politics and biographies. Mr. James wrote fluently, if not always originally. Naturally he was compelled to lean on the statements of others, and accept traditions and theories which cluster round so favourite a theme as the annals and memorials of one of the most interesting of English sites. He has gathered up some notices that are by no means generally known; as, for example, those of the feudal militia of the island during the Hundred Years' War, the Plague in Newport, and the proposal of the French that the island should be ceded to France, in 1782. These and numerous other chapters make the book a desirable one for those who love to read the history of their country with discernment and judgment.





THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1897.

“OLD LONDON” IN PRE-ROMAN TIMES.

*Its Italian and Greek Colonists ; also in Cuesar's time—his fording
the Thames at Chelsea. Discovery of the beautiful Roman
Pagan Temple at Westminster.*

Read September 23rd, 1896, in the Clothworkers' Hall, London.

BY J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.I.B.A.



AM glad to see the number of three hundred guests and members on the present occasion, which out of fifty-three Congresses of the Association is the first Metropolitan one. As Warden of the Company, I echo the Master's welcome, and propose to read a Paper on Old London, illustrated by plans and drawings of Pre-Roman and Roman London, as now before you, with examples of beautifully sculptured architectural enrichments of the date of Roman London, exhumed by me, with other Roman remains, from the site of the tradition-ary Roman pagan temple at Westminster, and never before exhibited. I consider it an unparalleled privilege to have the honour, on the eve of one of the most auspicious days in the life of the great and beloved Queen of this realm, to announce the discovery of this

interesting relic, of what, from the enrichments exhibited, must have been a most ornate edifice, on a site so near the Royal residence, the Houses of Legislature, and the superb Abbey in Westminster. It seems as if the previous pre-historic discoveries I have made in Scotland, Ireland, and this country, on the estates of many of the noble Vice-Presidents of the Congress, culminated in this, and its announcement at such a moment of interest.

I hold it to be a great honour also, at such a time, to read to you Caesar, as he should be read—not piecemeal, as is the usual method, but consecutively, as the first and greatest historian of Europe, as it was in his time described by him from his personal observations and repeated journeys to parts the most distant from Rome. If thus read, it will be seen that, so far from being a country of naked savages, as the school histories of our childhood have taught us, Britain was then, as now, a great commercial country; a land of high agricultural occupation, of mines, mining, and metallurgy, using Greek money, Greek customs, and Greek literature; that its schools of law, religion, and philosophy made it a central light to Northern Europe, as Iona became in the Middle Ages; that pure birth, consanguinity, and womanly honour were then held in high estimation, as they are now; that the religion was of the highest type, and embraced some of the grandest tenets now held; that the country entered into international compacts, and had a direct trade with Rome; had densely populated cities, with multitudes of superior buildings; was supplied direct from the Mediterranean with articles of “luxury” and “civilization”; and, in short, was great then, and in advance of its compeers, as at present; that the people were brave, fearless, free and independent, governed by kings and subject to laws.

To understand the capital of a country, we must know something of the people and their surroundings. Not topographical surroundings, but that broad cast of thought which Caesar was the first to exercise, and which, like the press of to-day, gave a knowledge of Europe at a glance. It is very well for us to know what is going on in Kent, Surrey and Yorkshire; but unless we also know what is

going on in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Petersburg and New York, we should very soon be a tributary people.

It seems now generally conceded, by historians and antiquaries alike, that in olden times there must have been two cities in this central part of British commerce: one on the south and one on the north of our noble river.

A moment's consideration will show that this must have been so, at a period when bridges were the exception to the rule, and where the great span of the river, multiplied by its lateral lacustrine areas, north and south, would render that exception next to impossible in primitive engineering at this place.

A glance at the map of Roman London will show that the two sides of the Thames had been embanked, probably when the wall of the northern city was constructed, and that the openings for the Fleet and Wall Brook in the northern bank formed commodious havens for the ferry-boats by which communication was maintained between the two cities. Bridges had not yet been built, but the embankment on the south side is fair evidence that the great quasi-lake between the river and the southern town had already been drained, probably by letting the water out at low tide, and stopping the return by locks or sluice gates; and this, no doubt, preparatory to bridge-building, as an apparent pier of Roman construction, of or for a bridge, was found some years since.

An inquiry into the modes of conveying merchandise in those days brings the above condition of the two cities into almost absolute certainty.

The period to which I refer is one antecedent—probably very long antecedent—to the invasion of Britain by Caesar; for in his day, and particularly prior to such invasion by him, bridges were fairly understood. We learn from his own *Commentaries* that there were bridges crossing many of the chief rivers in Gaul, as the Aisne, Rhone, Loire, Allier, Seine, etc., which bridges formed the continuity of the still-existing and traceable respective roads of commerce which the rivers intercepted; and which roads of commerce were at places opposite those British ports to which the great British roads led, the

Foss Way, Ermine Street and Watling Street. Caesar himself, with almost incredible rapidity—*i.e.*, in ten days, including those for collecting timber—erected a bridge over the Rhine strong enough to transport his army to the opposite shore. But the difficulties of constructing a bridge over the Thames, in face of the large area of water on the south side of the river, must have continued till long after his invasion. On the continent, bridges were absent where there were marshes or morasses between towns and rivers at that date. The old map of London shows the position of the ferries and the embankments on both sides of the Thames.

The navigation of the Thames must have been difficult from shoals and sand-banks, which no doubt occasioned the two roads of commerce on the north and south sides of the Thames estuary respectively, which were also no doubt regarded favourably by the inhabitants of both parts of the great city, or rather of the two cities, at a time when piratical expeditions were as usual with seafaring people as commerce itself; while the minor inlets on each side of the great river estuary would form safer havens for the small craft of those times than the continually changing stream, and the danger from exposure to severe weather in the broad and open river.

Ptolemy, treating its position geographically, places Londinium in Kent; that is to say, treats the southern city as the first, probably on the ground of its being first reached from the south coast; and the researches of my old friend the late Mr. Roach Smith, and others, show that in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius southern London extended considerably into Kent, and must have been south of the great lake which lay between the Thames and the south city.

This fact, then, that there were two such cities long prior to their bearing the name of London, *i.e.*, Londinium, opens a view to the habits and customs of their inhabitants, through their channels of communication and ways of traffic.

One popular fallacy should be removed at once, to make the matter in any degree comprehensible.

Historians have to a great extent created this fallacy :

amongst others Strabo, though only by omission, not by denial of Caesar's statement; though Strabo never visited Britain and Julius Caesar did. The first wrote from hearsay, the other from personal observation, and his—Caesar's—statement is detailed and emphatic.

Strabo, whose very name and family are unknown, perhaps received that appellation, which is not a name—Strabo, “squint-eyed”—from his treating the works of Herodotus, Caesar, and other careful authors in the same slighting manner. We have his own statement—though he calls himself a great traveller—that the coasts of Italy formed the northern and western limits of his travels, so he could not have approached Britain either by sea or the overland river route. It is unhappy that great men will condescend to such littleness, merely to indicate the superiority of their own writings. One of our best living writers on Egypt treats Herodotus, when it answers his purpose, with the almost exact contempt that Strabo did, and apparently out of personal pique to a rival Egyptologist.

The fallacy as to Caesar's writings is this:—

It is commonly supposed, even in these days of reading, that the inhabitants of Britain lived in the woods, and, by forming strong barriers with felled trees, protected themselves and called these places “towns”, or, to use Caesar's word, “*oppida*”.

This is a most careless reading of Caesar. These places, which he so describes were, as he distinctly states (B. v, ch. xxi), defences sought during warfare, evidently from the inability of their cities of residence to defend the occupants from military attacks. It is, indeed, probable that when attacked the whole of the inhabitants of each district would resort to such defensive protections, carrying with them their goods and valuables, and abandoning their slight wooden houses to the invader, or personally delivering them to the flames.

The towns in Britain, even as late as the taking of Camulodunum and the Roman cities of Verulamium and Londinium, were clearly not made defensible by walls; as the native States would still follow their former system of defence, and the Romans never anticipated a native

attack. But that when at peace they lived in cities formed of commodiously constructed houses, and even public edifices, is apparent from Caesar's own words: "The people are innumerable and the buildings multitudinous, and not unlike those of the Gauls." Were these people only in the woods Caesar could not have seen them: were the forest citadels their only towns, where were the multitudes of buildings? It must, therefore, be admitted that they lived in towns, with structural houses and, indeed, public edifices, as their buildings are compared with those of the Gauls.

Caesar's statement is the more surprising because the word he uses, "*aedificia*", was really then coming into general use at Rome from the stone edifices then erecting for public and private purposes in Rome. The houses in Rome itself, as well as in the cities of Europe generally, were, previous to his invasion of Britain, wooden structures, after the style of those still used by the Gabii in Latium, and as seen in ancient sculptures in Rome. On the Antonine column, and elsewhere, two kinds of Gaulish buildings are sculptured, the oblong rectangular hut of occupation, and lofty circular structures, apparently temples, as the native temples of Etruria, Latium, etc., were of that form and style. One still exists in Rome: the Temple of Vesta. The word *acdes* would have been used if only dwellings were under his observation, but the word *aedificia*, then as now, implied properly-constructed edifices—a term applied generally to public structures, whether for civil or religious purposes. It is clear that, overcome by surprise, Caesar admits the important, if not the imposing, aspect of the British cities; not taking into account the grandeur which was at the moment converting Rome, by means of its superb temples and palaces, into the regal city of the world, through the enormous wealth derived from Eastern conquest. No one was more aware of this, from his knowledge of Rome, than Caesar, whose head-engineer, Mamurra, his Praefectus fabrum in Gaul, was the first citizen who adorned his house with slabs of marble.¹

¹ Pliny, *It. N.*, xxxvi, 7.

The magnificence of new Rome was such that it drew forth the memorable comparison of Caractacus later on. The new private houses, at the time of Caesar, realised by sale, according to Pliny, from £30,000 and upwards of our money; that of Clodius cost 131,000, and that of Scaurus 100,000 sesteritia, or nearly £900,000 sterling, *i.e.*, about nine-tenths of a million; and, comparing the value of money then and now, this must have amounted to over £2,000,000. If my memory serves me, it was Caesar who first introduced the pediment, previously sacred to the temples of the gods, into a feature of domestic architecture on his own house.

With a crowded population living in thickly-accumulated houses, the word, "*creberrima*", implying not only many, but close or thickly placed ("*aedificia*") buildings, it is manifest that the so-called "towns" in the woods were, as already stated Caesar distinctly asserts, constructed to avoid the warlike attacks of military assailants (*incursiones hostium*) from the incursion of an enemy, and were only used in cases of such danger.

Let us view them as Caesar represents them when not in such military seclusion, and they will be found to be a civilised and commercial people, using well-known public roads of traffic, and living in towns, apparently with public buildings, including even theatres, for they bred animals for their domestic and civic sports, as well as hounds for hunting.

They were, as Caesar describes, perfect horsemen, and, as skins were in those days a grand feature in commerce, not only for clothing and tents, but, as he also describes, for the sails of vessels, their hunting must have been a daily vocation and a highly remunerative calling.

They were importers and exporters of goods, some of which are specified by Caesar, knew the nature and value of metals, had metal as a circulating commercial medium, were road-makers, builders of chariots and vehicles of traffic, and must have been metallurgists of no ordinary kind, as their long swords and the scythes to their chariot wheels, and generally offensive and defensive armour, prove.

They were under laws and were ruled by kings, were

brave, open, and chivalric in war, good agriculturists, and extensive breeders of cattle; and held sacred the highest religious views ever professed by any nations, ancient or modern, viz., a future state of reward and punishment for the acts done in human life.

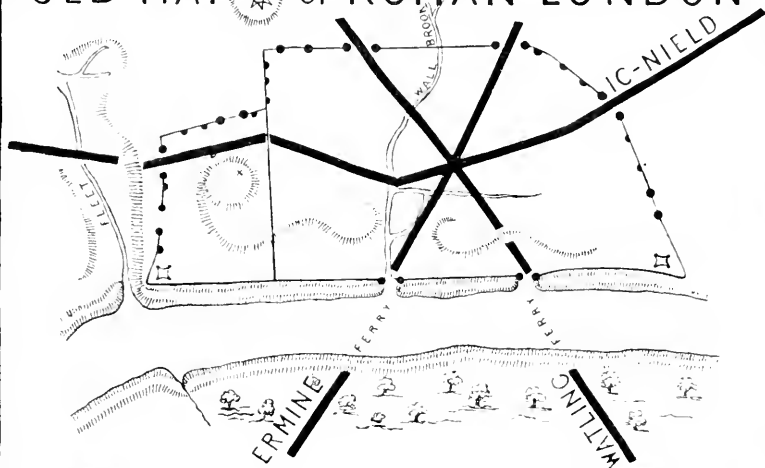
The one great blot mentioned by Caesar is evidently a misconstruction of the Oriental custom in force even amongst the Hebrews and the Brahmins—that of perpetuating descent by the widows of deceased brothers. This is clear from its being particularly referred by Caesar to the office of brotherhood. The acquittal of Tamar, as innocent of crime, shows also the similarity on another point which Caesar puts as exceptional. On the other hand, the Orders of their Society were based on consanguinity, were divided into ranks of purity and distinction, that is, into sacerdotal and military orders; and the bitterest insults that could be offered, as in the case of Boadicea and her daughters, were those of degrading their womanly sanctity.

Caesar, B. VI, ch. xx, speaks of *those most distinguished by birth*, evidently showing the honour attributed to pure descent; and though he is describing the Gaulish people, yet, as he points out that their institutions were derived from Britain, the same description, with even a stronger force, applied to the people of this island. Their philosophy was in advance of that of Pythagoras, as, though they held that the soul passed into other bodies, they never degraded their theory by including inferior animal nature as its habitat.

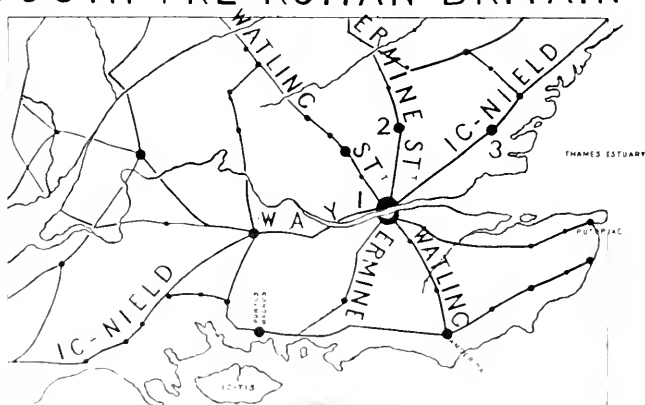
But beyond this, all the nations on both sides of the Channel formed a legal bund not dissimilar to that of the much later Hanseatic League. They were, as Caesar tells us, in league with the Veneti under a maritime code, and were bound to send succour to that State, the people of which were highly advanced in the art of naval architecture. This condition was so fully carried out by Britain, that Caesar makes these succours the asserted ground for his invasion of the island.

Allowing for the difference of date, and the remoteness of Britain from the great centres of civilised refinement, it would be difficult to imagine greater advancement in

OLD MAP OF ROMAN LONDON



SOUTH-PRE-ROMAN BRITAIN



1 LONDINIUM 2 VERULAMIUM 3 CAMULODUNUM

art and social life than amongst the denizens of this, even then, densely-peopled and closely-built metropolis. This is strengthened by the description by Tacitus of the condition of the people near the south shores of the Baltic, not known to Caesar; and the statement, by Caesar, that Greek letters were in use in Britain shows that they had literature. He is very emphatic on this point, for example, in B. VI, ch. xiv, he states as under.

His assertion is no ordinary one; and from his statement that those who desire instruction in the civil and religious laws of Gaul go to Britain to study those subjects being followed by the further statement that many are *sent to it* and there learn these subjects, it would seem that Britain is also meant. If so, the Greek writing referred to must apply even more strongly to Britain than to Gaul generally, if the word “*ibi*” may be taken with its usual meaning, “there”, in that place.

He then states that, though the religious matters were taught orally, yet that in *their public and private transactions they use Greek letters*. There is no Druidic mystery here: this was their *language for business and their business transactions*; as in the case of the bund with the Veneti, it was comprehensive, and according to a legal code.

Fairly viewed according to this statement, Britain seems to have been a centre of religious and legal civilisation to Western Europe in ancient times, as Iona became during the Middle Ages.

Napoleon III, who had profound scholars to aid him in his translation of Caesar, makes the difficulty of Greek being a common language with the Gauls in their transactions vanish by recalling the fact, “That the districts known by the modern names of Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc and Roussillon were inhabited by populations of different origins (including Italian Ligurians and Greek Massilians), all of whom had long undergone the influence of Greek civilisation, and especially from establishments founded by the Phocaeans on the coasts of the Mediterranean.” The great intercourse with Britain in the traffic of tin along the Liger (Loire) to Massilia (Marseilles) must have made Greek familiar in this

country. Napoleon's literary assistants, being Frenchmen, were no doubt able to distinguish the Greek words still existing in the dialects of the south-western parts of France, which indeed, with Greek and Phoenician customs, still abound from Marseilles to Brest. I have surveyed the whole of this route, and have found strong evidence of such language and customs.

But this matter is not left to conjecture, nor to elimination through the researches of antiquaries. It is a matter of history that these institutions existed in the time of Caesar, for, describing one of the States on the Rhine, which *came as a colony* from *South Western France*, the “Volcae Tectosages”, he asserts that they not only had a high character for justice, but retain their knowledge of commodities from countries beyond the sea, supplying to the Gauls many things tending to luxury as well as civilization. B. vi, ch. xxiv.

These people were Greeks, as their name implies. It is old poetic Greek τεκτόσυνος for τεκτονικός, practised or skilled in building. The word “Volcae” has been Italianised, and seems to have acquired its initial V by that means. Devoid of that it is clearly ὄλκος, and would probably be a drawer or designer of, but in connection with Tectosages, the builders of, ships; probably in connection with the commerce they still kept up with Greece, as the mother country.

As Caesar was not in the habit of exalting his enemies, this admission shows that the Greek people of Southern Gaul imported articles of commerce from the East, and that the old Greek communication still existed in his time, even to the broad extent of supplying northern and western Europe, over all of which the Gauls were settled, with articles of luxury and civilisation. So that these people and many others were really Greek colonists, and not as commentators describe them and also the Italianised Senones, Venones, etc., Gallic, simply because they were within the geographical area of Gaul.

Greek and Grecian customs were to them, before the Roman conquest, what Latin and Roman manners became after that conquest. Of that Greek language and that

Greek commerce the commercial metropolis of Britain must have been a partaker in no slight degree.

But to what purpose did this commerce tend? Was it to supply luxury, refinement, and civilisation to savages dwelling in woods; or rather to civilised beings, Italian, Greek, Hermionian and other colonists?

Caesar states that the attractions to Britain were such as interested merchants in particular, and that the whole of the south-east of the island was highly commercial: and for such commerce there must have been a central mart.

But it is also clear that there was a great intercourse between Britain by way of the Rhine and Baltic, *unknown to Caesar*, and by these routes intercourse—probably by the Danube—was carried on with the East.

The evidences for this are very distinct. The Venetian bund, which may thus be taken to have been defined under a Graeco-Gallic code, ceased at the western bank of the Rhine. The Veneti seemed to have no intercourse east of that river; and here a new series of nationalities began with which the Ubii, who occupied the west bank of the Rhine, were apparently so intermixed that they held themselves free from the Venetian bund. Another State, the Volcae Tectosages, on the eastern side of the Rhine, as described by Caesar, had, as already stated, knowledge of commodities from countries beyond the sea, and supplied to the Gauls many things tending to luxury as well as civilization; so that the Rhine, then as now, was wholly commercial on both sides. But, further, these articles of civilization and luxury had to be conveyed across the Rhine by the Ubiian vessels, the very ships that traded with Britain—Britain only a few hours distant, so that these articles of civilisation and luxury must have been in common use with the merchant princes of London then as now; in short, they must have been large consumers of those articles of commerce.

The maritime power of these States was enormous, as is clear from the Ubii being able, *at a moment's notice*, and without preparation, to offer to Caesar a fleet of such a number of ships as would carry his army to the opposite shore.

Naval warfare seems to have been unknown in these northern seas till Caesar's fight with the Veneti. The ships were all commercial, and the seas must have been crowded with craft then as now, shown by the fact of the possession of such a fleet for their *current commerce* in that river. That commerce led directly between Britain and Italy, and by the Danube to the East: a great chain of commerce of which pre-Roman London, by whatever name then called, was the northern emporium.

This offer of the Ubii is also a clear illustration of the mode of communication between the city of the south and the northern metropolis of Britain—London.

The Elbe (Albis) furnished no slight contingent from the vast territory of the Hermiones, or rather the people or Irmino or Irmin, which seems to have originated the name of our Ermine Street or Irmin Strasse.

The fact that there was a grand commercial free and independent territory of that name south of Argolis in Greece, in very ancient times, abandoned before the time of Pausanias, indicates, perhaps, that the Hermino or Irmin, said to have been the progenitor of the Hermines of the Albis or Elbe, after the Greek city of that name was taken by the Argives, and the consequent expulsion of the people, was the founder of a colony on the Elbe or Albis. The ancient nomenclature about the Elbe strongly supports this; the names are not German, while Hermes, Hermus, Hermiones, are distinctly Greek. If so, a strong addition of Greek maritime influence and language would have been introduced into Britain by the merchants from the Elbe. Moreover, the Gauls were an Asiatic people, and before coming to western Europe had much commerce and intercourse with the Greeks in Greece and its Colonies.

But the Gauls had retained full communication with eastern Europe and Greece and Magna Grecia.

So late as 279 B.C. the Gauls ravaged Greece, and even attacked the Temple of Delphi; so that the Gauls were well acquainted with the Greeks and their customs, and must have known their language originally as well as in Caesar's time.

In any case, Caesar's statement as to the use of Greek

is emphatic, and is fully supported by his other statements, and those of the French savants.

This being so, it is reasonable to seek Greek names in the earliest nomenclature of Britain, a source never before sought.

In my Paper read at Oxford in 1890, I gave a long list of Graeco-Italian names still existing in the districts through which the great pre-Roman roads of Britain can still be prominently followed. In my Papers at Winchester, Manchester, and Stoke-upon-Trent, I traced the settlements of Italian commercial people in Britain; and as no satisfactory derivation has been given of the name under which the residents of this great metropolis in ancient times were described, I felt justified in seeking the same source, under which I have explained the name given to the people adjoining the district, the so-called Icenii.

Caesar describes the territory, in which London is central, as occupied by the Trinobantes; other authors support this, but the information extends no further. As to who the Trinobantes were, or anything about them, we know nothing; but we do find a place of commerce—in short, a grand commercial city—in the district occupied by the Trinobantes: a city that must have been seen by Caesar himself, and from which he, no doubt, drew that graphic picture already quoted, “the people are innumerable, and their edifices multitudinous”; for the line of the river would have given him a broad expanse to guard against a fleet conveying enemies, as he had so lately learned could be done on the Rhine—indeed, on any of the great commercial rivers—as Caesar’s lieutenant, Labienus, also, at a moment’s notice, found and captured fifty native ships on the Seine, nearly as far up as Paris.

The heights from Maidstone to London, such as Charlton, Greenwich, etc., would enable him to watch the country as well as the river, and southern London would by such route soon have been reached.

There has been a great hunting for the ford by which Caesar crossed the Thames, with a good deal of extraordinary shortsightedness. Caesar states that he learned

from *deserters* and *prisoners* that the Thames was only *fordable in one place*, which was defended by sharp stakes driven below the water.

Several ancient fords have been found between Chelsea and London, well attested by Sir Richard Phillips's personal survey in 1820; by Maitland the historian, also from personal survey, in 1756, and by Bagford and others.

It seems always to have been assumed that *the ford* must have been above the tidal limit, whereas we have distinct information from Diodorus Siculus, in the case of the Island of Vectis, that it was the custom of the people of these islands to *ford when the tide was low*. This still continues at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and also at the mount of the same name in Normandy and in many parts of the Morbihan and Côtes du Nord. Such a ford is still used between one of the Channel Islands, Alderney, and the mainland of France, at *low tide*, and a tax is paid to maintain it. It is kept in use in the same way now, that Caesar's officers adopted to cross marshes, particularly those near the Seine, by fascines and clay, and was adopted by William the Conqueror at Belsar's Hill to take the Isle of Ely.

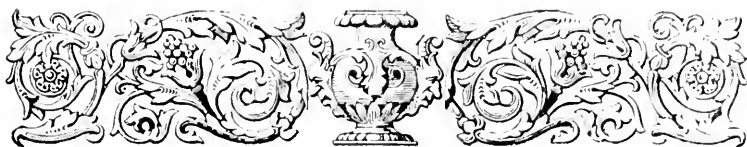
The fact that other fords existed shows *that this was an ambuscade*; and the statement that there was but one ford was to draw Caesar, through the assertions of these no doubt *instructed deserters*, to the well-defended part of the river; but the valour of the Roman soldiers overcame the plot.

There is no need to go a great distance from London in this case; it is clear—and the closer the matter is examined the more apparent it becomes—that Caesar saw the great city on the site of which London now stands.

These fords bring us to the question of pre-Roman roads.

(To be continued.)





PLEAS OF THE CROWN IN THE CITY OF LONDON,

TEMP. THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY R. R. SHARPE, ESQ., D.C.L.

(Read September 22nd, 1896.)



THE Pleas of the Crown were those pleas, suits, or causes, which, as affecting more particularly the King's crown and dignity, were set aside to be determined either by his Majesty in person or by his immediate law officers. Originally, their number was small,¹ but in course of time, as the King's peace extended itself, and serious crimes came to be treated as felonies, the jurisdiction of the *Curia Regis* had to be enlarged, and a special officer appointed under the name of *Coronator* or Coroner, whose duty it was to keep the Pleas of the Crown; his full title being *Custos Placitorum Coronæ*.

The King, to whom the *Curia Regis* owed its establishment as a central legal court with a staff of Justiciars or Justices—viz., King Henry I, showed especial favour to the citizens of London by allowing them to appoint their own Justiciar to determine Crown Pleas. How far the citizens availed themselves of this privilege is open to doubt. The Records of the City are searched in vain for the existence of any officer specifically known as Justiciar for London; although a learned antiquary, who has given the question considerable attention, has discovered elsewhere the names of at least two individuals who appear to have held that office.²

¹ Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, ii, 151-2.

² Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendices K and P.

According to the compiler of the City's *Liber Albus* (John Carpenter, the Town Clerk, or as he was better known, the "Common Clerk" of the City, whose name is best remembered at the present day in connection with the City of London School), the Mayor himself came to be called Justiciar.¹ Personally, I am inclined to think that Crown Pleas continued, as before, to be determined by the Sheriffs,² at least until the institution of Justices in Eyre.

The visits of these Justices when they went on circuit were extremely unwelcome at all times, but more especially to the citizens of London; for although they were nominally made for the purpose of hearing and determining Crown Pleas, their main object was to challenge every privilege, custom and franchise of the City, and on any and every pretext to exact fines for the augmentation of the King's Exchequer. Fortunately for the citizens, individually as well as collectively, these visits were comparatively few and far between. Speaking generally, the Justices made their circuits through the country once in seven years. The records of their visits to the Tower of London, where they held their sessions, show them to have been still less frequent.

The earliest *Iter* mentioned in the City's archives is recorded as having taken place a° 5 Henry III [A.D. 1220-1]. It was usual on such occasions for the Justices to prepare a list of questions or articles to be delivered to the City authorities, who were expected to give satisfactory answers thereto under penalty of fine or loss of franchise. The list then submitted was a modest one, numbering no more than eighteen questions in all, and bore generally on technical legal procedure. The questions and answers are set out in the City's *Liber Albus*, and are said to have been enrolled at an *Iter* held ten years later [a° 15 Henry III].³

¹ *Lib. Alb.* (Rolls Series), i, 14.

² We know that in 1258 the citizens made formal protest against the King's Justiciar sitting at the Guildhall to hear matters which they declared ought of right to be determined by the Sheriffs alone. *Lib. de Antiquis* (Camden Soc.), p. 40.

³ *Lib. Alb.*, i, pp. 62-71.

In the meantime another *Iter* appears to have been held a° 10 Hen. III, finishing its work about the time of St. George's festival (23rd April) in that year [A.D. 1226].¹ So far, then, the visits of the Justices to the Tower had, on an average, taken place once in five years. But now the City was to get a little respite, and eighteen years were allowed to elapse before the Justices again appeared. This was in 1244, when no less than seventy-six articles or questions were propounded and answers made thereto. These are preserved on one of the original Rolls² still extant at the Guildhall, and are also recorded in the *Liber Albus*.³

No other *Iter* appears to have been held in the City until 1275, when Edward I set to work to remedy the abuses that had arisen towards the close of his father's turbulent reign, and to recover Crown rights that had been lost. On this occasion a long list of articles for enquiry (*articuli ad inquirendum*)—numbering forty or more—comprising questions as to Knight's Fees, Escheats, and divers usurpations of the rights of the Crown, as well as to oppressions at the hands of the King's ministers or municipal officers, was submitted to each City ward. The articles differed from the dry legal questions put to the civic authorities at other *Iters*. Neither the articles nor the answers are recorded in the City's archives,⁴ but they are happily preserved among the Hundred Rolls⁵ at Her Majesty's Public Record Office. The answers made on oath by twelve honest men of each ward take the shape of "presentments" and "verdicts", and afford us an interesting insight into the nature of the grievances which the citizen of the thirteenth century had to endure, and as to the popularity or unpopularity of this or that mayor and alderman.

¹ *Lib. Alb.*, i, 72-82.

² Roll AA.

³ *Lib. Alb.*, i, 77-127.

⁴ All we find is the following note:—"Responsiones factæ ad Questiones per Iusticiarios Itinerantes apud Turrim Londoniarum civibus ejusdem propositas, anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici quarto."—*Lib. Alb.*, i, 11, 12.

⁵ *Rotuli Hundredorum* (printed 1812), pp. 103-133.

Ten years later (A.D. 1285) the Justices were again at the Tower, when an incident occurred which wrought an important change in the City's history. For some reason—difficult to discover at the present day—the customary notice of forty days that the Justices were about to sit had not been given to the civic authorities. This was resented by Gregory de Rokesle, the Mayor, who, thinking to read the Justices a lesson, divested himself of his *insignia* of office, and entered the presence chamber as one of the City aldermen and nothing more. He was soon made to see his mistake, for the Justices forthwith announced that the City was taken into the King's hands as being without a Mayor, and in the King's hands the City remained for thirteen long years.¹

During that time a *Custos* or Warden, appointed by the King, took the place of a Mayor, elected by the citizens, and the City was subjected to such ordinances as the King himself might think fit. One of the ordinances—and that not an unreasonable one—was to the effect that inasmuch as, owing to the long intervals that took place between the visits of the Justices Itinerant to the City, many prisoners died and felonies could neither be proved nor punished, he would assign Justices to act out of the *Iter*, due notice of their coming being given to all parties concerned.² It was owing to this new arrangement, probably, that the Justices in Eyre did not again appear at the Tower until 1321.

Before alluding more particularly to this *Iter*—the most remarkable one in the City's annals—let me briefly describe the preliminaries which had to be gone through whenever the Justices announced their intention of sitting at the Tower. A series of Standing Orders as to the manner in which they ought to be received have come down to us, preserved in the City's *Liber Albus* and the *Liber Custumarum*, as well as in a manuscript volume known as *Liber Ordinationum* [*de Itinere*], and another volume known as *Liber Horn*, from Andrew Horn, a famous jurist and City Chamberlain, its com-

¹ *Lib. Alb.*, i, pp. 16, 17. The date given in the Record is manifestly wrong.

² *Lib. Alb.*, i, 280n, 296-7.

piler. On fo. 206 of the last-mentioned work there is an illuminated capital, in which two Justices appear to be depicted as sitting at the Tower on a bench, having crowns on their heads, the one holding in his hand an uplifted sword, and the other—apparently—an olive branch. The background represents a crenellated wall, and a large minaret or tower flanked by two smaller ones, which may (or may not) be intended for the Tower of London.

The Orders or Ordinances commence with a solemn warning that, at such a time when the City might at any moment be deprived of its franchises, the citizens should lay aside all private grievances and present a united body. Any one venturing to disturb the King's peace was to be disfranchised, both he and his heirs. The Sheriffs, the Chamberlain, and their respective clerks were to see their rolls of attachments and mishaps properly written up for each year; whilst the Alderman of each ward was to prepare a roll of sureties and attachments in Crown Pleas. The citizens were to assemble at early morn at the Church of All Hallows, Barking, and then proceed in decent array, one and all, to the Tower. A deputation of the more honourable and discreet "Barons" of the City was to be despatched to extend a more or less sincere welcome to these unwelcome visitors. Shops were to be closed, and be kept closed throughout the entire session. The custody of the doors and gates of the Tower was to be shared by the City with the King's officers. It was the duty of the Aldermen of the two wards nearest to the Tower to see that the benches in the Great Hall where the Justices were to sit were in proper repair, and to prepare a bench in the centre of the Hall for the Mayor and "Barons" whilst making answer to the Pleas of the Crown. These answers were not to be made hurriedly, but only after deliberate consultation with the Common Council of the City. After detailing the various modes of purgation in criminal cases according to the customs of the City, the Ordinances conclude with the following piece of shrewd advice, viz. :—that, seeing the City could not help itself, but needs must "pass through the hands

of the King and his Justices" (*transire . . . per manus Regis et Justiciariorum*), it became a matter of necessity to court their favour and good-will by presents to them and their clerks. The ancestors of the Barons and citizens of that day had taken that course formerly, and had so preserved the liberties and customs of the City, and what they had done might again be done without dishonour or disgrace.

The *Iter* of 1321 sorely tried the patience of the citizens, continuing as it did, with brief intermissions, for nearly six months. Imagine the City of London with its shops closed, and a complete stagnation of trade and commerce, for a whole half-year! We have two accounts of the *Iter*: one given us by Andrew Horn, at that time City's Chamberlain, who took a leading part in the proceedings, and whose narrative is to be found in the City's *Liber Custumarum*; the other, an official account recorded in the *Placita de Quo Warranto*.¹ The accounts in many respects differ. Horn, not unnaturally, gives prominence to those questions affecting the citizens more particularly in their corporate capacity; whilst omitting, or only briefly mentioning, those cases affecting individuals which find a place in the official record. Horn, again, takes note of many incidents of the *Iter* of historic interest omitted in the more dry and formal account, and deplors the hardships inflicted on the City by the presence of the Justices: a matter which the official account very naturally ignores.

As soon as the writ was received notifying the intention of the King to send his Justices to hold an *Iter* at the Tower, for the purpose of hearing all such Pleas of the Crown as had not been determined at the last *Iter*; or had arisen since that time, the civic authorities busied themselves with looking up the old Orders prescribing the manner in which the Justices were to be received.

No sooner had the Session opened (13th Jan.) than the Justices appeared anxious to make up for lost time; and on the very first day there were threats of taking the City into the King's hands for some supposed

¹ *Lib. Cust.*, i, 285-432; *Placita de Quo Warranto*, pp. 445-474.

negligence on the part of the Sheriffs, whilst on the following day an ex-Sheriff was actually fined for not having his rolls ready when demanded. It was one of the hardships incidental to every *Iter*, that every Sheriff, Coroner and Justice for gaol delivery who had held office since the last *Iter* had to appear, if alive, with their Rolls, each for his own time. This ex-Sheriff was now called upon to produce his Rolls for an office which he had filled thirty years before, and because he failed to produce them just at the moment they were required, although he had previously brought them into Court, he was promptly fined.

Then followed such an onslaught on the City's various rights and privileges, that it was not until the ninth day of the *Iter* that the Justices thought fit to hand over the customary list of Articles or Questions to be answered. These numbered over one hundred, and some of them necessitated an inquiry extending over the last twenty-five years.¹ Nevertheless, within three or four days the wards were ready with their answers.² On the eighteenth day the Justices were ready to start hearing Pleas of the Crown. These were heard in what was known as the Little Hall under the Eastern Tower, the Great Hall being set aside for hearing Common Pleas, and no one was allowed to be present save the Coroners and Sub-Coroners, Sheriffs and their clerks, and deputations from the wards.³ These last were made to undergo a severe cross-examination by the Justices, who expected them to know every particular of every death or mishap that appeared on the Sheriffs' or Coroners' Rolls. If their evidence showed the slightest discrepancy with the facts as enrolled, they were at once threatened with a fine! The poor wretches very naturally protested that they could not be expected to remember everything that had occurred since the last *Iter*, a period, as they said, of forty-four years; moreover, they were tradesmen, and young, and not up in such matters. Under these circumstances the Justices spared them a fine.⁴

¹ *Lib. Cust.*, i, 347-362.

² *Id.*, i, 369-370.

² *Id.*, i, 366.

⁴ *Id.*, i, 370-1.

And so matters went on from day to day, claims being made and objections raised by one side or the other, until, on the 23rd February, the Justices thought they had discovered sufficient excuse in the conduct of an ex-Mayor for taking the City into the King's hands.¹ At Easter a brief but welcome adjournment took place. When the Session was resumed, it soon became apparent that something had gone wrong. The whole demeanour of the Justices had changed: instead of appearing—to use the words of the chronicler—as “lions eager for their prey,” they had become “very lambs”.² This was to be accounted for by a threatened insurrection in Wales. At Whitsuntide a further adjournment took place until after Trinity Sunday; and when the Justices resumed their sitting they had to put up with other and somewhat indifferent quarters, partly because the Queen had just been confined with a daughter—“Johanna of the Tower,” as she came to be known—and partly because the Tower was being put into a posture of defence against the rebels, in the event of the insurrection spreading to London. For nearly three weeks more they continued their vexatious inquisitions, finding fault with this and that, until the inhabitants of the City, loyal as they might be, began to show unmistakable signs of getting out of hand; and by the King's orders the *Iter* was brought to an abrupt close (4th July), after a sitting in tribulation and bitterness (*in tribulatione et angustia*) of twenty-four weeks and three days.³

The chief officers who had to produce their Rolls before the Justices were the Chamberlain, the Sheriffs, and the Coroner; all of them, strictly speaking, the King's ministers, although the first two were elected by the citizens. The Coroner held a unique position, the office being the prerogative of the King's Butler for the time being. At one time, we find the Mayor, at another the Chamberlain of the City, acting also as Coroner; but in every case the Mayor or Chamberlain so acted by virtue of his being also the King's Butler; and it is

¹ *Lib. Cust.*, i, 371-374. Aungier, *French Chron.* (Riley's Transl.), p. 253.

² *Lib. Cust.*, i, 383-4.

³ *Lib. Cust.*, i, 285, 382, 425.

only in this sense that the statement in the *Liber Custumarum*, to the effect that the King's Butler and the King's Chamberlain and the Coroner are one and the same,¹ holds good.

Before the Statute *De Officio Coronatoris* (4 Edw. I, Stat. 2, A.D. 1276), and before the appointment of a City Coroner, inquests were held by the Sheriff;² and even after the appointment of this new functionary, notice of suspicious deaths was always given to the Sheriff as well as to the Coroner. More than once the City attempted to get the appointment of Coroner into its own hand, and failed,³ until the impecunious condition of Edward IV induced him to yield to the earnest wish of the citizens, and for the sum of £7,000 to grant them a charter allowing them (*inter alia*) to appoint a Coroner of their own, independent of the King's Butler.

Of Sheriffs' Court Rolls there is, apparently, only one extant at the present day among the City's Records;⁴ whilst of Coroners' Rolls there is only a small series of ten Rolls that have come down to us. Of these latter, nine deal with murders, homicides, mishaps, etc., between 1299 and 1378 (although vast gaps intervene), whilst the tenth is for the year 1590.⁵ The earlier Rolls are of peculiar interest, not only for the introduction they afford us to the seamy side of London life in the fourteenth century, but also as showing the special dangers to which the London citizen of that day was exposed. One cannot fail to notice the number of deaths occasioned by falling down stairs, or out of a window, or from off ladders; whilst many a man met his death by falling down a well, or by being suffocated by the bad air of a well which he had descended for the purpose of cleaning. Others were drowned in the river, either whilst bathing or seeking escape from the hand of justice, or having acci-

¹ "Et nota quod Botellarius domini Regis et Camerarius domini Regis et Coronator idem sunt."—*Lib. Cust.*, i, 296.

² *Lib. Alb.*, i, 112.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 367; iii, 19.

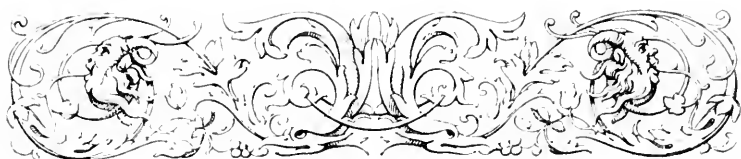
⁴ Roll CC., embracing the years 1318-1321.

⁵ Rolls A—J. Copies of Coroners' Rolls for the years 1275-8 are entered in Letter Book B, and are printed in Riley's *Memorials* (pp. 3-20), but the original Rolls appear to be lost.

dentally fallen in; whilst there is at least one case of a man meeting a horrible death by suffocation in a latrine into which he had fallen, owing to the breaking of a plank. Lastly, it is curious to note the valuations put upon various things which, owing to their having caused death, were—strictly speaking—forfeited to the Crown. To take a single instance. A cart and three horses, which had crushed a woman to death, were appraised by a jury at something less than 30s.: the cart at 6s. 8*d.*, one horse at 10s., a second horse (to be sure, it was blind with one eye), at 4s., and the third at 6s.; whilst the contents of the cart, as having contributed to the death by increase of pressure, were valued at 1s. 4½*d.* But juries were ever disposed to leniency in the matter of deodands, until early in the present reign this class of forfeiture was formally abolished.¹

¹ Stat. 9 and 10 Vict., c. 62.





THE OLD CITY CHURCHES ILLUSTRATING ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY REV. W. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.

(Read 22nd September 1896.)



It is difficult for anyone unacquainted with our past history to realise that London—so busy, so modern, so up to date—has for nearly a thousand years been the capital of a European kingdom; and that, for three hundred years at least, it has been one of the chief commercial and business cities of the world. The Great Fire and the obliteration of the past to meet the exigencies of the present have been the two chief causes of this extinction, as it were, of mediæval London, and the substitution for it of the London we see around us.

A somewhat similar process has been going on in Paris, and even more efficiently. Old Paris has passed away, except in a few portions, and New Paris—Hausmannised and Napoleonised—has arisen in its stead. Yet London and Paris, even in the later Middle Ages, were, as now, two of the largest and grandest capitals of Europe.

If one wants to realise what Old London really was, the archæologist is tempted to seek his evidence in our provincial cities, where the past has been let more alone, and where the present does not quite overwhelm it. In the streets of Canterbury, of York, of Chester, of Shrewsbury, in the colleges of Oxford, the quaint timbered buildings of many a sleepy English town, or in the halls of many a moated grange of rural England, we may dream of what Old London really was like.

But has it all passed away? Are there no vestiges of Old London in London itself? Most of the secular build-

ings of Old London—indeed, nearly all except the Tower and Crosby Hall, and a few old houses and Inns of Court—have passed away, but in ecclesiastical edifices we have probably as many worthy of the attention of the archaeologist as in almost any capital in Europe: Rome, of course, excepted. Let us consider a moment. The existing churches of Old Paris are very few, as we have seen. Berlin is almost as new as an American city, and its archaeological remains are to be seen only in museums. St. Petersburg is worse still; even New York and Boston are more antique. After all, London is better off in its ecclesiastical remains of antiquity than most European capitals. We have eight parish churches spared by the Fire, which destroyed eighty-seven, besides those outside the City borders, like Westminster Abbey, the Temple Church, St. Saviour's, Southwark, etc., and the old suburban mediæval churches like Bow.

Even in London itself, then, we can trace in existing edifices the main outlines of the City history. It is true, of Roman London, and even of the Romano-British epoch, we have no archaeological remains (except in the Museum). Doubtless there were churches in London in the days of Bishop Restitutus, whose signature as Bishop of London in the Council of Arles is the first witness to the Church of London. But we must not expect remains of these churches of Roman London, seeing how scant are the remains of the Roman and Romano-British Christian throughout England. In Cornwall there are far more remains of these periods than in all the Home Counties put together. Much of this may be due to the almost imperishable granite being the material of these monuments; those in London were of more perishable material; and, also, even those may have been used for other edifices in the City. We need not wonder, then, if we have in London (or, indeed, the other great cities of Roman Britain) no contemporary Christian remains like the churches of Perran Zabuloe or Gwithian, or the tomb of Silus at St. Just, or the older Cornish crosses. As Mr. Loftie says: "Nothing to indicate the existence of a church, and only some doubtful indications of Christian burial, have yet rewarded the most careful search." So the churches of Roman London

have passed away. They must have existed, for we have the names of Restitutus at the Council of Arles in 314, and other bishops. "Roman London was always a Christian city", Mr. Loftie says: for, in fact, the wall was built about 360, after the Conversion of the West.

As to Saxon London, we have scarcely any remains. Edward the Confessor's chapel in Westminster Abbey, at the very end of the period, is almost unique. However, some of our churches may have been built on Saxon sites, *e.g.*, St. Ethelburga's, which is connected in name with the epoch of the establishment of Christianity in London, and with the Abbey of Barking (said to be the oldest convent for women in England). The Middle Ages were not periods of restoration or of preservation of antique buildings, as I need scarcely remind our Association, but of rebuilding. Several of our London parish churches may, in fact, be built on old Saxon sites—successors, in fact, of old Saxon churches. Was St. Olave's, Hart Street, such? St. Olave was a Norwegian saint, indeed, to whom London was indebted for preservation. A church may have been reared to his memory at the end of the Saxon period by a grateful people, though no record is found of St. Olave's church until 1284. Some say that St. Ethelburga's is the oldest fabric of all in the City; and probably the foundations of this old church, spared by the Fire, belong to the Saxon period, though built on in a later style. The four churches of St. Botolph, each near a gate of the City, may also have been erected in Saxon times, though rebuilt again and again. Their name alone reminds us of the Saxon age.

It is, therefore, only London after the Conquest which is fairly represented by the London churches, but that is the most important portion of our English history. In the Tower and its chapel we have the memory of the Norman Conquest before us, and the massive style of Norman architecture in the work of Gundulf. We here have, in London itself, an object lesson of the Norman Conquest and the massive Norman style.

The church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, belongs to a little later period, but is most instructive. Here we have the lesson of London in Crusading times,

when the Romanesque style had not yet died out in Europe ; and the traditions of old Roman architecture, as understood by the Teutonic peoples, were still among us. St. Bartholomew's is not only instructive from an archaeological but from an artistic standpoint. It is a grand church, and one that from the standpoint of majesty and dignity excels, to my mind, most, if not all, of the other parish churches of the metropolis. It is really a splendid conception : so massive, so dignified, so impressive. Of all the London churches it most reminds me of a basilica, and in it the basilica idea survives. Some of Wren's churches may be imitations of this ideal, but here we have a survival, and a beautiful and grand survival it is in its simple majesty !

In St. Bartholomew's one seems to behold the history of London for above seven hundred years—from the times of the Crusaders, when the Holy Land was for a time wrested from the Moslems, but was lost again by the quarrels of Christian powers ; through the long ages of Plantagenet kings, and the Wars of the Roses, and Tudor England, down to our own time, when St. Bartholomew's Hospital, erected on Prior Rahere's foundation, is a boon to thousands of the London poor. In some senses, St. Bartholomew's is a national monument, to be handed down to future generations to show posterity, in stone, some of the history of their ancestors. The choir of the great monastic church (which we still have) gives one an idea of what the great church of St. Bartholomew's once must have been.

Bracketed with St. Bartholomew's is the other great surviving mediæval church of London (spared by the Fire), itself also originally a conventual before it was a parish church. I refer to Great St. Helen's. It is connected with the chief nunnery of London under the rule of the Dean of St. Paul's, and itself dedicated to the mother of Constantine. It belongs to the Middle Ages, and in no sense to Roman London ; though the dedication is most appropriate, in the capital city of the country where Constantine first ruled, and which is especially linked with memories of the freeing Christianity from pagan persecution. St. Helen's and Barking are

the two chief surviving monuments of the convents of Old London. In Great St. Helen's, then, we have a memorial of a leading element in the life of the women of mediæval England, *i.e.*, the nunnery. Many thoughts come before us in this place. The relics in St. Helen's are quite a little museum, and the past stands before us—the nuns of St. Helen's, the memory of Richard III in Crosby Hall close by, and his plot to win the kingdom with the help of London citizens: the thought of Shakespeare, who lived near by in this parish. The later Middle Ages and Tudor England stand clear to us in St. Helen's. The group of St. Helen's, Crosby Hall, and the old Bishopsgate must have been very picturesque.

But it is to about the epoch of the fifteenth century that most of our London mediæval churches belong. This is what we might expect. It was then that London began to assume its position as one of the greatest commercial cities in the world, and wealth flowed into it. This was also a great church-building period in many parts of England; or, rather, these old churches were rebuilt or added to, so that we have abundant remains of the period—the London age between the time of Whittington and Richard III.

Prominent among the churches of this age is St. Olave, Hart Street, which has been especially fortunate in having become almost a household word among antiquaries, from being the parish church of the great diarist of the Restoration, Pepys; so that we seem to know all about it, and its rectors and its congregations in the Restoration epoch; and also in being so carefully restored, and having its history so well written by the present rector. In St. Olave, Hart Street, the London of the nineteenth century seems obscured by the London of the later Middle Ages, and of the seventeenth century. As we turn from the crowded city into the peaceful and restful atmosphere of this old church, so also we pass from the bustling nineteenth century into the memories of the past. Much of the history of modern London stands before us. The age of the Yorkist kings and of the commercial rise of London; the last era of the Middle Ages and the old learning; the Reformation and

the Laudian revival (expressed probably in the first restoration of the present church); the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the navy pew where the great diarist worshipped, and where his tomb has been set up; the age of the later Stuarts, and Georgian epoch, all are before us. St. Olave's is not merely a "sermon in stone", as every church should be, but a "history in stone", for these stones tell the story, not only of old dead citizens, but of the part of East London near the Tower spared by the Great Fire. One here feels the reality of our history: of Danish invasions, of Old London in the Middle Ages, of Puritan struggles, of the age of the later Stuarts. Archæology stands as a witness to history, and a strong one.

In All Hallows, Barking, we have a church especially interesting in its Laudian connections, which we have been reminded of in the Laud exhibition. Its historic memories have been well brought out lately.

St. Andrew Undershaft, as the church of the antiquary Stow, is also full of recollections of the past; its very name, referring to the great maypole, brings to us memories of the "Merrie England" of the past. Few have brought Old London so clearly before us as did the antiquary Stow.

Of St. Katherine Cree we need not say much, as it was a Laudian church: a late expression of mediæval architecture.

In St. Giles', Cripplegate, we have a picturesque representation of an old London churchyard surrounded by houses. It reminds one of many old county towns, and shows how picturesque the London of, say, Tudor times must have been.

Passing outside the City into Southwark, the fame of St. Saviour's, Southwark, as illustrating our English history, and events and scenes interesting to all English-speaking peoples, is well established. Not merely in recent works have Roman remains been discovered, but here we have records of the Marian persecution, as the church was connected with Bishop Gardiner's trials; but also here Gower and Edmund Shakespeare were buried. In the parish Shakespeare wrote and

acted his plays. And the church has special connection with American history. I should say St. Saviour's, Southwark, would appeal more to a cultured American than most of the churches of Europe.

It is needless to refer to Westminster Abbey, a Valhalla of a great nation, almost unequalled for its series of monuments among the churches of Europe. No nation—neither the French, nor the Germans, nor the Italians, nor the Russians—have such a collection of tombs of great men as is here to be seen; and here also every phase of English history, from the Saxon days of Edward the Confessor, is illustrated: a History of England in stone.

Such are some of the ecclesiastical remains of Old London, the chief vestiges we have of the past history of what was one of the most beautiful cities of Western Europe; and in them we can at least hand down to posterity the evidence (imperfect and most defective, but all we have) of what London was—the capital of a brave and conquering people, destined to found the greatest empire this world has yet known. The secular antiquities are, as we all know, few and, except the Tower, not very important. Yet even these are worth preserving. I often have thought that our antiquarian societies, or the City itself, should try and secure them from further destruction. Might not one or two of our Old London houses be converted into museums, or fitted up as teaching places, to show the young what Old London was? My ideal of a civic museum is one I saw at Pilsen, in Bohemia, where you pass from room to room and see in archaeological records what Pilsen was in pre-historic times; with remains of the Stone and Bronze Ages, in the Dark Ages, in the mediæval epoch of Huss and Ziska, in the Renaissance times, in the days of Wallenstein, in the last century, in modern times down to the age of Sadowa, *i.e.*, our own times. Old Pilsen lives before us. Why might not Old London thus be restored to the mind's eye, in one of the few really old houses of the City?

I would remind you that the destruction of an ancient building is an irretrievable loss to posterity. We could replace the handsomest modern building of this great

metropolis by money, and if it is properly insured, the money would be forthcoming. But no insurance can secure the value of an ancient edifice. I would rather see old buildings restored than demolished; but restoration must, to be of any use, be carefully and almost reverently done.

I cannot but say that I regret much the demolition of many old buildings, both in London and Paris, in this present century. We and the French are leaving but little to the twentieth century of the relics of our venerable capitals.

But the case of London remains appeals not only to the people of England (and every Englishman has some connection with London, and no Englishman can, or ought to, say that London is nothing to him), but also to the whole British Empire; nay, more, to all English-speaking people. As the greatest eulogium at the unveiling of Pepys' monument in St. Olave's was by Mr. Lowell, the U.S.A. Minister, we may say that these monuments belong to the Americans as much almost as to our colonists. The American, the Australian, and the New Zealander of the future, will look to the archaeological remains in London and England as the records in stone of his ancestors. These remains of the metropolis will always be more accessible than those of Chester, Canterbury, York, or even Oxford. The few remains we have of mediæval and Tudor London spared by the Great Fire, and the almost as destructive agencies of rebuilding and commercial needs, are therefore likely to grow more and more valuable as the interest in archaeology increases (as I sincerely believe it must, as culture grows more diffused), and as the people of Greater Britain learn more to realise England as the home of their ancestors, and London as the true metropolis (both in the vulgar and ancient Greek sense) of the English-speaking peoples of the world.

In this sense, even Wren's churches assume an archaeological value, such as they would not under other circumstances. All of them are connected with the life and history of London in the Georgian epoch, which to posterity will seem, perchance in another century, an antique age. The London of Dr. Johnson and Boswell,

of Garrick and Goldsmith, of Hogarth and Addison, is almost to our young generation as much a matter of history as the London of Shakespeare and Bacon, or of More and Erasmus, or earlier still, of Chaucer and Whittington. Wren's churches are becoming venerable in age, and witness to the age of London's progress. Some of them are already of historic value. In St. Mary Aldermary, we have Wren's masterpiece in Gothic architecture—a last expression in a noble and beautiful work of art of the grand English pointed architecture until the revival of Pugin. It has its value in the history of art as of England, for here, in the absorbed parish of St. Antholin, the throne of England was shaken under Charles I by the Puritan St. Antholin lectures. Then, again, Wren's chief masterpiece, St. Stephen's, Walbrook, is not without historic memories, as well as being “a thing of beauty and a joy for ever”—perhaps the loveliest church of its style in England.

The whole conception of Wren's churches is increasing in popularity, and his genius is being more and more appreciated. As for his towers, they probably were built on one scheme, and each told on the other in one of the grandest designs of city architecture in Europe.

Taken as a whole, we have a precious heirloom in the old City churches which will be of value to posterity, not only in England, but throughout all the British Empire and North America: a history of the making of England illustrated in stone. May we be faithful to our trust!





THE CHURCH AND PAINTED GLASS AT BOWNESS ON WINDERMERE.

BY MRS. COLLIER.

(Read March 17th, 1897.)



THE ancient church of St. Martin at Bowness, in the parish of Windermere, appears scarcely to have received as much attention from antiquaries as it deserves; although in this age of restoration it has not been neglected, but has had its share of repairing and renovation.

The east window, its best-known feature and chief glory, has certainly been much admired, besides having occasioned, some years ago, a warm discussion as to its history and origin, authorities having differed on the subject; but the question may now be considered settled by experts, whose convincing reasons for their final dictum I will refer to in the course of my remarks in this paper.

I propose, however, commencing with a short account of the church and its general points of interest, from its past to its present condition.

The actual date of erection of St. Martin's church is not recorded, although without doubt it is a very ancient structure. The materials employed have been traced to Roman origin, and were probably brought from a Roman station which is known to have existed in the neighbourhood. The present church has some signs of fifteenth-century work, but, like most of the churches in the Lake District, it is simple and rudimentary in construction: consisting, until the recent additions, of a nave with two

aisles, a chancel, and low embattled tower, formerly—according to Whellan's account—carrying three bells and a Saint's bell. A recessed arched doorway, now unused, gave access to the tower. A porch at the south side of south aisle is the principal entrance to the church; narrow arched doors are at the east end of the same aisle, and west end of north aisle. The south aisle is lighted by four square stone-mullioned windows, while those on the north side are five in number. There is a clerestory with six windows. The great east window is late Perpendicular. There is no tracery or architectural enrichment; the walls, arches, capitals, columns and bases are equally devoid of ornament, and were covered with several coats of whitewash by successive worthy and painstaking churchwardens of the pre-Restoration period.

The arched roof is open to framing, and is of oak black with age; the arches dividing nave from aisles are pointed. As to its historical record, the date of its foundation is lost in antiquity.

Nicholson, in his history published in 1777, states that St. Martin's at that period was a rectory valued in the King's books at £24 6s. 8d., certified to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty at £78; parsonage and land £30, composition, tithes of wool, lamb, etc., at £44, and surplice fees £4. Deductions reduced same to £71 7s. 2d.; amongst which were, "To receiver of Crown rents £1 13s. 4d., and to Vicar of Kendal 13s. 4d." The latter item is a curious memento of the former status of St. Martin's; as I find that anciently this parish was part of the parish of Kendal, and although Bowness is some miles distant from that county town, St. Martin's was a chapelry in Kendal Parish; but having, through distance and difficulty of communication, acquired the reputation of a distinct parish; the rector pays to this day, in token of submission to the mother-church, a pension of 13s. 4d. to the vicar of Kendal.

At the appropriation of the church of Kendal to the abbey of St. Mary's at York,¹ the patronage of the

¹ By Ivo de Taillebois: the patronage of the chapel was excepted.

chapel (of St. Martin), as it was then called, was not given to the said Abbey, as was that of Kendal, but remained to Ingelram de Gymes and Christian his wife, grantees of the Crown; and there was from that time a pension of 33s. 4*d.* paid out of the chapel funds to the said Abbey.

The next notice records that by the inquisition post mortem of Joan de Coupland, 49 Edward III, it is found that she held by grant of the King for life the advowson of the chapel therein named of Wynandermere, valued at 100 shillings, and pays, in token of subjection, to the vicar of Kendal 13s. 4*d.*¹

The patronage and advowson of the church continued in the Crown till the seventh year of Elizabeth, when the same was granted to William Herbert and John Jenkins, to hold of the Queen in free socage by fealty as of the manor of East Greenwich. After several mesne conveyances the same was purchased by Sir William Flemming, who devised the same by will to his four daughters, and the advowson was, in 1860, exercised by Lady Flemming.

Reverting to the church and examining the interior more closely, there is first, on entering the principal door, the old font of pale red sandstone, octagonal in form, and ornamented with rude sculptures.

During a periodical cleaning of the church in the year 1864, an accidental chipping of the plaster discovered a series of inscriptions on the walls of the nave, which, though they had been concealed under several coats of whitewash, were sufficiently legible to read, and were curious enough to deserve preservation. These questions and answers, relating to the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, belong to the reign of James I, and have been taken from Robert Openshaw's catechism, entitled *Short Questions and Answers concerning the Somme of Christian Religion*, and printed at the "3

¹ Afterwards reverted to the Crown till Elizabeth, when, in the year 1535, advowson valued at £24 6s. 8*d.* Tithes were commuted for yearly rent charge of £87. Whellan (1860) states that the rector has a "prescription of so much a boat in lieu of tithes of all fish which is caught in the lake, which is divided into twelve fisheries".

Cranes in the Vintree" by Thomas Dawson, 1590; the dedication "dated from my study at Waitemouth, and Melcombe Regis the 28th January in the year of our Lord 1584". At the end is inscribed "Finis. Quoth Robert O'Penshaw, pastor of the church of Waicemouth", etc.

The clue to the date is useful, and proves that some persons or parishioners thought it worth while and took interest enough in the church to cover the bare plaster with extracts from a favourite book.¹ On the third pillar in the nave over the old pulpit is an inscription, the text of which is taken from Coverdale's Bible, printed A.D. 1535, in the reign of Henry VIII, viz. :—

"Preach the worrd
Be instant in season
Out of season improove
Rebuke, exhort in all long
Suffering and doctrine.
11 *Tim.* : B. II. v."

On the easternmost pier of the church on the south side, on the inside of the arch, the following Latin verses were, in 1629, put up by Christopher Philipson to commemorate the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot :—

"Hic est ille dies renovante celebrior anno
Quem facit et proprio signat amore Deus
Euge Boni ! Stygiis quae conjurata tenebris
Nunc mala divina fabula facta manu
Anglia mole suae mox conspicienda ruinae
Psallat ut aetherea ubera mausit ope
Exultat Anglia.
Faucibus eripior Fauxis quasi carcere mortis
Gloria in Excelsis hinc mea tecta salus.
Christoferus Philipson, Jun., Generosus, 1629."

Which may be literally translated as follows :—

"This is the day (anniversary of the Plot) more famed as each year brings it round again, which God Himself appoints and marks with his peculiar favour. Rejoice ! ye who are good ! The mischief conspired in (or *by*) Stygian darkness has now been made

¹ This is an interesting trace of the Reformation period, probably put in prominent view of churchgoers as texts and comments explanatory of the New Doctrines.

an empty tale by the hand of Providence. England, which was shortly to be conspicuous for the greatness of its ruin, may now sing hymns since she has remained free by the aid of Heaven.

“England expresses her great joy.

“I am delivered from the jaws of Faux as from a prison of death.

“Glory to God in the Highest. Hence is my secret safety.
—Christopher Philipson, Junior, Gentleman, 1629.”

On a stone tablet near the small south door is a poem entitled :—“The Author’s Epitaph upon Himself, made in the Time of His Sickness.”

“A man I was, wormes meat I am
To earth returned from whence I came
Many removes on earth I had
In earth at length my bed is made
A bed which Christ did not disclaime
Altho’ it could not him retaine
His deadlie foes might plainlie see
Over sin and death his victorie
Here must I rest till Christ shall let me see
His promised Jerusalem and her felicitie.

Robert Philipson, gent : 10 Octobris An^o Salutis
1631 anno ætatis suæ 63^{tro}.”

Another Christopher Philipson, of Calgarth, died 1562, was a benefactor to the church. He was devoted to the cultivation of letters, and is supposed to have presented several books to the library at Cartmel. He is believed to have been barrister-at-law and Mayor for Charles I. But for a discrepancy in the date of his death, one would suppose him the identical author of the Guy Faux inscription and the epitaph. Probably this is the case, and the numerals may have been altered in some period of repainting or cleaning of the walls. There are several mortuary brasses of no special interest; also a monument by Flaxman to Bishop Watson, of Llandaff, who died at Calgarth, and is buried near the east window in the churchyard. The church possesses a copy of Jewel’s defence of the *Apologie of the Church of England*; there is also chained to the seat under the reading desk, a copy of Erasmus’ *Paraphrase of the New Testament*.

A curious tradition relates to the small central pane of painted glass in the window of the north side, and which is named the “Carrier’s Arms”. It represents a rope, a

“wantey”¹ Book, and five packing pricks or skewers, which are the instruments used by carriers to fasten their packing sheets together. The story goes, regarding this window, that the church and also the chapels at Ambleside, Troutbeck and Applethwaite were all ruinous and unfit for worship; and it was proposed, as the neighbourhood was so poor, that one central church should be built for the use of all. The people could not agree as to the most suitable position, therefore it was decided that whoever gave the largest donation should choose the site. A carrier, who had made his fortune in business, offered to cover the church with lead, so the choice fell to him. He selected Bowness; and his craft, though not his name, is commemorated to this day in this curious specimen of ancient glass.

In the year 1873 St. Martin's church underwent restoration, and it was during that process that the famous east window was brought into prominent notice, and was treated both carefully and with success by Mr. Hugh Hughes, under the superintendence of the well-known artist Mr. Knight Watson. Before the restoration the window had been sadly neglected, and allowed to fall into a most dilapidated state. The zeal of iconoclasts during the Civil Wars is probably answerable for much of the damage done, both to the window and the church itself: as it is recorded that the Roundheads made havoc there, and that they smashed the organ. No doubt the painted glass suffered; indeed, it has been surmised that there were several painted windows in the church previous to the Civil Wars, and that some of the parts lost or irreparably injured in the east window were afterwards patched and replaced by pieces from other windows broken at that period. The neighbourhood was largely inhabited by persons of less puritanical views, who did their best, when quieter times returned, to put their old church in order according to the somewhat inartistic methods of the succeeding century. An old writer states that the “East window had been affectionately repaired in places by glazed tissue paper stained

¹ This is an expression used in a local book of reference: it is probably a technical word formerly used by carriers.

with water colours, and the holes stopped up promiscuously; the larger ones with mortar, the smaller ones with glazier's putty".

It is rather difficult to decide whether the author of the above statement is writing in praise of the proceeding, or wishes to convey a delicate hint of irony between the lines.

At any rate, when Mr. Hugh Hughes took the window in hand he found the design difficult to trace, in consequence of the imperfect manner in which the glass had been put together, although some parts remained much in the same position in which they had originally been placed. The restoration led to much argument and discussion, and a comprehensive study of the history and origin of the glass. Indeed, the subject aroused so much interest, and was so exhaustively treated, that the questions involved were not fully decided for some years; the conclusion arrived at being stated finally in a masterly discussion by Mr. R. S. Ferguson during a visit of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society to the neighbourhood in the year 1879.

It had been hitherto (that is, previous to the restoration in 1873) supposed that the glass of the east window had formerly adorned the Abbey of Furness: a tradition founded on very insufficient evidence. The only statement to that effect which can be found is one for which the painter Benjamin West is alone answerable; who, in his history of Furness Abbey, mentions the theory, but gives no authority for it. However, although in the earlier editions of Camden (prior to 1789) the tradition is not mentioned, Gough, in his edition of that year, brings it forward with the powerful name of West to back it: the latter's history of that Abbey, of which he was an enthusiast, having been published in 1774. It is nevertheless a question whether there ever was any painted glass at all at Furness Abbey, as the rules of the Cistercian Order, of which foundation Furness was, forbade the use of painted glass. Canon Dixon has paid particular attention to the dissolution of Furness, and has found no mention of painted glass there.

The earliest account of the glass is to be found in

Machell's manuscript in the collection of the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle. The writer visited the church prior to the year 1698, and being curious to decipher the dates, he says that "he sent the school-master (who, it appears, was more active than himself), up a ladder to examine the coat-of-arms in the east window. In his account he leaves a blank ——— where he evidently intended to add the name of the place from which the glass was brought, which, unfortunately, he omitted to do, and perhaps was unable to discover. But note, he does *not* mention Furness. He further remarks as follows: "On a window in the Ile (this aisle) next the *queer dooer* is written in text letters 1523, which" (says Machell) "shows the time the windows were done".

The royal arms mentioned are those of Prince Arthur or Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII), and, being on the east window, mark the date of transference to the church as before 1523; but there was in 1523, and had been since 1509, no one entitled to bear those arms; but if the transference was after 1509, the arms may denote some gift of money or presentation of glass prior to 1509.

Mr. Hugh Hughes during the progress of his work was able to bring many remarkable points to notice, which had not until the restoration been available for discussion, and which drew especial attention to the question of the origin of the glass, with the result that those authorities who are best qualified to decide have come to the conclusion that the greater portion of the window must have been made about the year 1480, and originally placed in the Priory of Cartmel, near Grange, from whence it was removed to Bowness about 1523, or before the dissolution in 1537: thus escaping the destruction which befel the religious houses. Mr. Ferguson sums up as follows:—"This window formed part, and by far the greater part, of a seven-light window from Cartmel Priory; the present Perpendicular windows of the choir and transepts at Cartmel were, before reformation, inserted in place of the original Transition or English ones. The window was brought whole and uninjured

to be put up at St. Martin's, Bowness, filling all the space below the transom. Being sadly injured and mutilated by Parliamentarians in the seventeenth century, it was afterwards patched from other painted windows broken in the church at that period." Mr. Ferguson proceeds to describe the windows in detail to prove his theory, which is now generally accepted by experts. I will now briefly summarise this account, with some additional remarks of Mr. Hugh Hughes, recorded at the time of the restoration which he ably and carefully carried out; he having examined, and, where necessary, successfully pieced the old glass in its place, and where new bits were required to repair it, each piece was dated to avoid confusion.

The window is in the late Perpendicular style, divided into seven lights. A transom runs across it a little below the spring of the window arch, thus dividing it into fourteen compartments, each now trefoil-headed. Previous to the restoration the upper compartments were round and the lower square-headed; the destruction of the old tracery and substitution of new is regrettable, but could, perhaps, not be avoided.

At first sight, with regard to the cold blue background to the crucifix, Mr. Hughes remarks that it is flat and intense, not imitating the sky, but throws up the simple symbolic figures, and makes the window quite unique, a work of itself, and curious beyond any other in England.

The figure of our Lord extends over the three central lights, angels with golden chalices attend Him. On His right is the Virgin Mary, on His left St. John. Beyond the former are St. George and the Dragon and St. Barbara, while to the left of St. John is St. Catherine. On the seventh light, the one to the extreme right of the spectator, are two figures, believed to represent the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, with jewelled mitres, and two said to be St. Stephen and St. Lawrence. This glass is much earlier than that in the other six lights, though there is little doubt that it was placed here later to repair what was damaged. The light would originally have been filled by some figure to correspond with St. Barbara in the first light, and which required a

partial restoration, while the companion figure of St. Catherine needed little restoration. Over these six figures an elaborate architectural canopy of late Perpendicular work extends, which is ornate with gold-winged angels playing on musical instruments. The cross and figures of the Virgin and St. John stand on ground beautifully covered with foliage; through which, here and there, a half-concealed skull appears to denote that the place is Golgotha. The figure of St. George, in plate armour of



St. George and the Dragon.—Window in Bowness Church.

the fifteenth century period, was uninjured, but the faces of the three principal figures and the upper part of St. Barbara are restorations. Hutchinson saw the glass in 1773 or 1774, and it appears from his account that at that time these faces were gone. Below these six fine figures, and evidently part of the original window, are six groups.

No. 1, below St. Barbara, an ecclesiastic kneeling in prayer. He wears a white tunic with black girdle, and a rosary exactly similar to one engraved in *Cutt's Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, from a brass of a

wool merchant in North Heath Church. Above him are the words "John Plo' P.or of Kirkmel". No letters are missing; his costume is that of an Augustinian Canon, except as to the colour of his cloak.

Group 3 is similar to No. 1: an ecclesiastic kneeling; behind him are six or seven other figures habited the same as canons of Cartmel; the labels which bore their names are mostly illegible, but W. Hartley, sub-prior, and Tho. Houson, can be deciphered.

Groups 2, 4, 5 and 6 are knights and ladies before desks, the lady behind her lord; the cushion red, and the drapery of the desk green; the knight bareheaded, the lady with head-dress of the fifteenth century. There was no difficulty in identifying No. 2 couple; the legend overhead is "Will Thornboro' and his Wyff". He was Sir William Thornborough, of Hampsfeld Hall, and his wife the Lady Broughton, an heiress, whose father, the last of his line, Sir W. Broughton, fell at Newark. The fourth group is similar, and the scroll gives the names "Pennington and his wiff". The Pennington arms are displayed. This was Sir John, who married Joan, daughter of Sir W. Eure.

The fifth and sixth are similar groups, but their names can only be conjectured.

In the upper part of the windows above the transom are three pictures, the rest of the lights being filled chiefly with shields of arms. The first picture represents the entry into Jerusalem, and the third the Resurrection. Both are believed to be fourteenth-century work; between the two is the Virgin Mary seated under a canopy, crowned, and with the infant Christ standing on her knee. She holds an apple, an ancient mode of depicting her as the second Eve. This is very mosaic in treatment, and the oldest glass in the window—said to be thirteenth century.

Some of the coats-of-arms are those of benefactors, and are identified as those of Lancaster. Urwick, Harrington, Berkeley, Preston, Middleton and Millner. The Flemings arms appear in divers parts of the window: *Gules*, a frett of six pieces *argent*, some with file of five points or lambeaux, which began to be used about the

reign of Edward I as a difference for the eldest son, the father being living. The remaining small spaces of glass are filled in with tracery.

This concludes my account of the points of interest to archaeologists at Bowness. It remains briefly to record that the restoration in 1873 includes a new vestry, the extension of the chancel, the raising and roofing of the tower, and increase of the peal of bells from four to eight; the new frescoes, a Majesty on the west wall above the arch, Adoration of the Magi on the north side of the chancel, and The Entombment on the south side.

Part of the ceiling has also been renovated, though much of the ancient oak remains in good condition. The modern reredos of alabaster, the work of Dr. Salviati, of Venice, is beautiful in itself, and harmonises with its surroundings. On the whole, the restoration has been carried out with more than usual care and discretion, and with due regard to the preservation of the ancient edifice and its records of the piety and art of generations in the past.





NOTES ON VERULAMIUM, NOW VERULAM HILLS.

BY B. WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D.

(Read during Congress, 1896.)



UNLESS they have some peculiar architectural features, ruins do not possess anything to engage the attention of visitors excepting the history with which they are associated. Verulamium has not much to interest an architect besides the remains of the walls, seen by the side of the path leading down the hill. But to the archæologist and historian it is a place well worth visiting, as it is associated with the commencement of the written history of England, through Cæsar's invasion.

When Cæsar invaded England, sixty years before the Christian era, it was a stronghold of the Casii, who inhabited this part of the country, and whose name is retained in Cassiobury, in the Hundred of Cassio, a hamlet in the liberty of St. Albans. Cassivelaunus, their prince, had made war on the Trinobantes, who inhabited the country on the other side of the river Lea, now known as Essex. He killed their chief, or king, and annexed the country, thus depriving Mandubratius, the son and heir, of his kingdom. He, with other princes who had been similarly treated, went to Cæsar, then in Gaul, to solicit his help to enable them to recover their possessions, and to put a stop to the aggressive policy of the Casii. Cæsar availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to increase his military fame, and with well-trained soldiers invaded England.

Landing on the south coast he made his way, with much fighting, through Kent and Surrey to the Thames, which he is said to have crossed near Chertsey, where stakes have been found in the bed of the river, supposed to be some of those which Cæsar mentions as having been driven into the bed of the river at a ford, to impede his progress. Not far from the place the river Colne enters the Thames; and, as the river Ver, which flows at the foot of Verulam, joins the Colne, it may be supposed that he marched along their valleys and arrived at the foot of these hills, on which was the stronghold of the Casii. Cæsar says the place was strongly fortified, and at the bottom protected by a marsh.

British strongholds consisted of a deep ditch and embankment, and on the top of this embankment were palisades. It may therefore be assumed that the deep ditch at the top of this place, protecting it from attack on the side of the way, or road, known as Watling Street, and also by the side of the path, was the work of the Casii, and was stormed by Julius Cæsar. The defenders, having no heavier weapons than spears, javelins, and, perhaps, stone axes, were unable to resist the advance of the Romans; who, with their shields over their heads, could scramble up the banks uninjured by the shower of darts hurled at them, and carry the place by storm. Cæsar, it is said, was anxious to return to his ships, and so made terms easy for the Casii. Mandubratius was to be restored to his kingdom, and their prince was to cease from molesting his neighbouring princes.

The Casii, however, seem to have retained their hold of Essex, for when next we hear of Britain, the Casii and Trinobantes were ruled over by father and son. The father, Tasciovanus, was chief of the Casii, and Cunobelene, his son, was chief of the Trinobantes, ruling over Essex, and having either Malden or Colchester for his capital.

It was not until a hundred years after Cæsar's invasion that Britain again occupied the attention of the Romans, and then their interference was due to the bad behaviour of the son of Cunobelene, and the grandson of the chief of the Casii. His rebellious conduct obliged his father to banish him from his kingdom. He went to Rome,

and by his representation of the unsettled state of the country induced the Emperor Claudius to invade England. There was, it is said, much hard fighting. Cunobelene, the father, was, however, conquered, and then the Roman army, under Claudius, marched against the grandfather, Tasciovanus, who held this stronghold on these hills. It is probable that the Romans marched along a track-way, at present the road to Hatfield. The Romans here built the town of Verulamium, of which some of the remains are now *in situ*, but it was evidently used as a quarry when the Abbey was built, for much Roman material can be seen in its walls.

Verulamium was then the utmost limit of the Roman conquest, and formed a basis from which their armies made military excursions against the neighbouring tribes. Verulamium again became prominent in English history when Boadicea revolted against the Romans, on account of their cruelties to herself and daughters. It is said that after she had destroyed Colonia, or Colchester, and massacred the garrison, she marched to Verulamium, then a flourishing Roman colony. It was probably badly garrisoned, as the Roman General had gone to the west, making war against a British tribe. She reduced it to ruins, and then marched to London.

The next time we hear of Verulamium it is in connection with the Christian religion. St. Alban, thought to have been a Roman soldier, was the first Christian martyr in England. In the reign of Diocletian there was an unusual persecution ; and St. Alban, who was probably a leader of the hated sect in the city, was condemned to death, as he spurned the Roman heathen worship. He was marched out of the fortification, probably along a road traversing the city, passing through St. Michael's to the hill on which the Abbey now stands, and executed.





THE FOUNDATION OF WALTHAM ABBEY.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P.

(Read September 25th, 1896.)



WALTHAM Abbey, now consisting of the nave of the Abbey church, used as the parish church, and a few remains of the conventual buildings, is situate in the parish of Waltham, or Holy Cross, in the hundred of Waltham in the county of Essex, twelve miles north-east from St. Paul's by road, and fifteen by the Cambridge section of the Great Eastern Railway. Its name is derived from the Saxon Weald-ham, a village in the forest, the parish including the forests of Waltham (which belongs to the Crown), Hainault and Epping.

The history of Waltham Abbey presents some special features of interest, inasmuch as it grew with the town of Waltham out of the reverence paid to a Holy Cross which was set up there in the reign of Canute. Prior to the time when the monastic orders were, after the Norman Conquest, established in England it was, until the reign of Henry II, served by a body of secular canons, who were not bound by the vow of celibacy and the more rigid rules and observances which were adopted by the religious orders since the Conquest, but lived as a community more like the canons of our Cathedral churches at the present day.

Polydore, following Matthew of Westminster and others, has derived the foundation of Waltham from King Harold; but as both the town and the Abbey owed their origin to the Holy Cross, it will be as well to commence with the account in the *Chronicle of Waltham*, which is contained in two tracts forming part of the

Harleian MS., 3776, in the British Museum, another copy of which is among the *Cottonian MSS.*, Julius D. vi. One of the tracts is entitled "Vita et Miracula Haroldi quondam Regis Angliæ" the other is "De Inventione S. Crucis Nostre de Waltham". They are in the hand of the twelfth century, and were once in the Abbey library. The first tract is imperfect at the end.¹ From the second we learn that, in the time of King Canute, there lived, at a place called Lutegaresbyry (the ancient name of Montacute, in Somersetshire, four miles from Yeovil), "a man of great simplicity and good natural abilities, without malice, fearing God and eschewing evil, by occupation a carpenter and sexton of his parish, to whom one night appeared a vision of Christ crucified, commanding him that as soon as day broke he should go to the parish priest and will him, accompanied with his parishioners in solemn procession to go up to the top of the hill adjoining, and to dig where (if they would beforehand make themselves, by confession, fasting and prayer, worthy of such a revelation) they should find a cross, the very sign of Christ's passion. This plain man, supposing it a fantastical dream, took at the first no great heed thereof, save that he imparted it with his wife, who also thought it an illusion. Wherefore the Image appeared again, and so gripped him by the hand that the dint of the nails remained in his hand to be seen the day following. Being thus pricked forward, on he goeth to the priest and discloseth the whole matter. He arrayeth his parish, displayeth his banners, putteth on copes and surplice, and setteth the carpenter foremost as his captain; they march to the place, they dig awhile, and anon they find a great marble, having in it of black flint the Image of the Crucifix, so artfully wrought as if God himself had framed it. Under the right arm of this crucifix there was a small image of the same form, a little bell also, and a black book containing the text of the four evangelists. All this they signified to Tovi le Prude, then lord of the soil, who of all England, after

¹ It has been edited by Dr. W. de Gray Birch, with a translation (1885). The "De Inventione Crucis" has been edited by Dr. Stubbs, with an introduction and notes (Oxford, 1861).

the King, was the chief Staller,¹ and his chief counsellor; who came to the place in great haste, and by the advice of his gents left the small cross in the church there, determining to bestow the greater in such place as God should appoint. Forthwith, therefore, he caused to be yoked twelve red oxen and so many white kyne, minding (if God so will) to carry it to Canterbury; but the cattle could not by any force be compelled to draw thitherward. When he saw that, he changed his mind and bade them drive towards his house at Reading, where he had great delight, but still the wayne stood immoveable, notwithstanding that the oxen did their best. At the lengthe he remembered a small house that he had begun to build at Waltham for his disport, and commanded them to move thitherward. Which words he had no sooner spoken but the wayne of itself moved: Now in the way many were healed of many infirmities; amongst the which threescore six persons vowed their labour toward the conveyance of this cross, and were the first founders of Waltham Town, where was nothing before but only a simple house for this Tovi to repose himself at when he came thither to hunt, notwithstanding that he had thereby divers lands, as Enfield, Edolmetun (Edmonton), Cetrehunt (Cheshunt), Myms, and the whole barony that Geoffrey of Mandeville, the first of that name and Earl of Essex, after had. Now when the cross was brought thither, Tovi commaunded it to be set up; and whiles one by chancee pierced it with a nail, the blood issued out of the flint in great abundance. Whereat Tovi, being greatly amazed, fell down and worshipped it, promissed before it to manumitte his bondmen, to bestow possessions on such as should serve it, and there presently gave Waltham, Cheu-levenden, Hieche, Lambec, Lukentun and Alwareton, and offered the sword wherewith he was girded when he was first dubbed knight. His wife also, called Glitha, bestowed on the head of this crucifix a crown of gold garnished with stone, and gave besides one jewel for the which a Bishop of Winchester offered 100 marks."

¹ Stallere, *i.e.*, horsthegen, marshall, comes stabuli, or constable. Dr. Stubbs' edition of "De Inventione S. Crucis".

This cross was believed to perform miracles, an account of which is given by Dr. Stubbs in his edition of the tract “*De Inventione S. Crucis Nostre de Waltham*”;¹ one of which, it is stated, was performed upon Harold, the son of Earl Godwine, who, having been attacked by a stroke of palsy, was relieved entirely from it upon a visit to this cross; and Matthew of Westminster says, when Harold should go to the field against the Conqueror, he came to Waltham to do his devotion before the crucifix, which at his departure (in token of a final farewell) bowed itself towards him, and from thenceforth continued crooked even till his own time.

Tovi's foundation was for the maintenance of two priests only. On his death his son Athelstan lost Waltham, which came into the hands of Edward the Confessor, who bestowed it on Harold; who rebuilt the church and increased the number of secular priests to the mystic twelve of the company of the Apostles;² and his body was removed and buried in the church or neighbourhood after his death at the Battle of Hastings.

Harold endowed the church with seventeen manors, which, by the charter of confirmation granted by Edward the Confessor² included the manors which Tovi had given. From the *Life of Harold*, it appears that William, the first Norman king of the English, took from the church the town of Waltham and gave it to Walter, Bishop of Durham, to repose himself at when he should be called to council out of the north country; and that he carried off the chief of the movable wealth which Harold had bestowed upon the church (a list of which is given) to Neustria in Normandy; but in the tract “*De Inventione*” this is attributed to King William Rufus. Their landed endowment was for the most part undisturbed. From the *Domesday* survey, it appears that their seventeen manors had been reduced to fifteen, and two of these, Meluho and Abrichesia in Bedfordshire, had passed to the Bishop of Durham as well as the town of Waltham. Howbeit, afterwards in part of amends, the town of

¹ See, also, some interesting remarks on these miracles by Dr. Stubbs in his introduction to the “*De Inventione*”.

² *Vita Haroldi, ut supra.*

Waltham, with all the lands thereto of old times appertaining, was restored to the church; and William Rufus, by charter (cir. 1096), confirmed to them the lands and customs they had then as in the times of his father.¹

Other lands formerly held by the canons are mentioned in *Domesday*. They also appear to have been undertenants to Earl Mortaigne for a hide and a half in Waleton, in Surrey.²

Grants were made to the church by Hen. I and his Queen, Matilda: amongst which is an exchange of a mill in Waltham, given by Matilda, for the site of Christ church, or Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Adeliza, Hen. I's second wife, also gave to the canons the tithes of the parish and also of her demesnes.

In 1154 Hen. II confirmed to the church the possessions, customs and liberties which they held in the times of Henry his grandfather (Hen. I).³

Waltham continued a college according to Harold's foundation for about 115 years: from 1062 to 1177. About 1160 we find Wido, or Gwido, Ruffus dean. In 1164 he was one of Hen. II's ambassadors to the Pope at Sens.⁴ Gervase says he was in the same year one of the envoys sent by Henry to Lewis, King of France, to prejudice him against Thomas, the Archbishop who had threatened to excommunicate him. In 1174 Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to Waltham and suspended him in his absence without a hearing.⁵ He had been impeached on several serious charges, and probably thought it best to keep out of the way. Two years later he asked leave to resign the deanery,⁶ and subsequently allowed the King to use him as an instrument in the change he proposed to effect at Waltham,⁷ which he carried out in 1177 by the institution of regular canons in the room of the seculars; the reason given for the change being that the secular clerks who had remained

¹ *Cotton. MS.*, Tiberius C. ix, fo. 49A, et *Cart. Antiq.*, M. No. 1. Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, 813.

² "De Inventione", etc., Stubbs' ed.

³ Stubbs' ed. "De Inventione".

⁴ *Diceto*, 537.

⁵ *id.*, 583.

⁶ *id.*, 598; *Gerv.*, 1134; *Bromton*, 1118.

⁷ Stubbs' introduction to "De Inventione".

in the same place hitherto were intent on worldly works and unlawful allurements, rather than on divine service.

There is some confusion among the old chroniclers as to the events which occurred on this change in the constitution of the church of Waltham. Dugdale says Gwido not only was suspended, but resigned his deanery in 1174. This, as we shall presently see, was not the case; but Hovenden and Matthew Paris (embodying Roger of Wendover) each give only a partial account of the proceedings. Hovenden says Gwido the Dean resigned his deanery, and the canons secular their prebends, at the General Council of Northampton held after the Feast of St. Hilary, 1177, and that Walter de Gant was appointed abbot on the Vigil of the Pentecost, anno 1177. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, follows Hovenden and Browne-Willis in his view of the mitred abbots which forms Part 2 of the Appendix to the *Collectanea*, adopts the same view; Matthew Paris and Roger Wendover, on the other hand, say nothing about the appointment of an abbot, but that Ralph, canon of Chichester,¹ received the government of the church from the hands of the Bishop of London, to whom, as his diocesan, he bound himself in express words to pay canonical obedience; after which he was introduced into the church in company with the brethren, appointed by the bishop to be their prior, and solemnly enthroned.

A solution of these contradictions may be found in the chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, forming the *Cottonian MS. Vitellius*, E. xviii, under the title of "Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I, Benedictus", which covers the period from A.D. 1169 to A.D. 1192;² an edition of which by Dr. Stubbs forms one of the publications of the Rolls Series of documents.

From this we learn that at the Council of Northampton, held after the Feast of St. Hilary, January 13th, 1177, Gwido surrendered his deanery into the hands of the King, which he was very desirous to have, for he had vowed to God and the blessed St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr, in honour of his martyrdom, he would found

¹ Cirencester; *Diceto* says Radulphus Cirecestrensis, vol. i, p. 420, Stubbs' ed.

² Benedict died A.D. 1193.

an abbey of regular canons in remission of his sins ; and from Hugo the Cardinal and legate he had obtained that in the said church of Waltham, the secular canons being removed, he should be at liberty to appoint regular canons ; and for this cause above all, the King had striven to have the church of Waltham free and unrestrained in his hands for the accomplishment of his purpose.

But in the octave of St. Hilary the King came to Windsor, and thence sent Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Ely and London, to Waltham, where the said dean resigned into their hands his deanery of Waltham ; and they gave instructions on the part of the King to the secular canons, who were to go there to the King to receive exchange for their prebends.

And on the Vigil of Pentecost the King came to Waltham, and met there Walter, Bishop of Rochester (sent on behalf of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury), and the bishops of London, Norwich and Durham ; and on the same day, viz., on the 3rd Ide of June [June 11] and Feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, the aforesaid bishops, by the precept of the King and the mandate of the Pope Alexander, and the consent of the Archbishop, inducted into the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham regular canons whom the King had elected from houses of regular canons of his realm, scil.: six canons of the Abbey of Cirencester, six of the church of Osney, and four of St. Osith ;¹ and the King appointed one prior of the same canons and other officers of the same house.

At this induction and ordination Gwido the late dean was present, to whom the King gave a manor during his life in exchange for his deanery, and to the secular canons, who were also present, the value of their prebends—at least to such as resigned, for some refused—

¹ Gervase says “quatnor de Chick”. Chick was another name for this monastery, which was founded by Richard, Bishop of London, in the reign of Hen. I, in honour of Osith, daughter of King Fritwald and queen of Sighere, King of the East Saxons, who was martyred by the Danes A.D. 635. See further *Brit. Arch. Journ.*, vol. xvi, p. 347, and *id.*, vol. xxiii, p. 328, where it is said she founded the monastery, and was beheaded A.D. 870.

to whom he granted free liberty to enjoy their prebends during their lives, after to revert to the regulars; and the King promised to augment their revenues, that they should be sufficient to maintain eighty or a hundred canons,¹ which Polydore Vergil saith he did not perform, but Hollinshed says he but slenderly performed.

Henry II having thus settled his regular canons in the church of Waltham, dedicated at first to the Holy Cross and afterwards to St. Lawrence, confirmed the Confessor's charter with many parcels of land and tenelements which pious benefactors had afterwards bestowed, and gave them the rich manors of Sewardston and Epping.²

This charter, taken from the Registry of Waltham, forms the *Cottonian MS.*, *Tiberius C.* ix, fo. 526. It gives, as a reason for the change from secular to regular canons, that the secular canons had lived irreligiously and carnally, and had caused much scandal. Whether this was more than an excuse may be a question; but it is clear that the opposition to the secular clergy, who were not bound by the vow of celibacy, which had commenced under Dunstan in King Edgar's reign, had gathered strength with the increased power of the church under Anselm and Thomas A'Becket, and the growth of the monastic orders.

This charter also recites that the church of Waltham had from its first foundation been subject to no archiepiscopal or episcopal jurisdiction, but was only subject to the Church of Rome and the jurisdiction of the King.

Then, in July 1184, the King came to the Abbey of Waltham, and Walter de Gant, canon of Oseney, was constituted the first abbot of the regular canons.

Dr. Stubbs, in a note to his edition of *Benedict's Chronicle*, says this is an important date in the history of Waltham. In 1177 the secular canons were expelled, and the regular canons, under a prior named Ralph, were instituted. But, if our author is right, it was not until 1184 that the priory was elevated into an abbey, and the

¹ *Gesta Hen. I.*, *Benedictus*, vol. i, p. 174.

² *Dugl. Monast.*

first abbot appointed. Hovenden mentions the appointment of Abbot Walter under 1177. Diceto, however, mentions the installation of Prior Ralph by the Bishop of London in 1177: a ceremony which would certainly not have taken place if an abbot had been appointed.¹

Pope Lucius III, by his Bull, confirmed to the monastery the exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction.

In 1188 Walter, abbot of Waltham, was one of the ambassadors sent by Hen. II to inquire into the dispute between the Archbishop of Canterbury and his prior and sub-prior; and in 1189 the King appointed him one of the arbitrators between the Archbishop (Baldwin) and the monks.² King Richard I confirmed Hen. II's charter. In this charter of confirmation there is a clause that no man may hold office by inheritance, but by the decision of the abbot and canons he may be transferred to higher or other offices.³

Walter de Gant died on the Vigil of the Ascension, A.D. 1201.

On Easter in the year 1253, Hen. III, in consideration of the sanctity and munificent hospitality displayed by the abbot and monks of Waltham, by charter granted and confirmed to them the free liberty, whenever that house should be vacant and deprived of a pastor through the resignation or decease of its abbot, to dispose at

¹ The visit of Hen. II to Waltham when Walter was made abbot is sometimes referred to the year 1182, and it is said that the King made his will on that occasion. Henry's will is dated 1182, and it is expressed in the will that it is made at Waltham. Matthew Paris, in *Chron. Mag.*, says Henry came to Waltham, and gave large sums of money to the expedition to the Holy Land and several monastic and other institutions, but does not mention his will "et sic in Normanniam transfretavit". Benedict, Diceto and Hovenden all agree that in 1182 the King kept his Christmas (old style, 6th January) at Winchester, and that he made his will "apud Waltham". Diceto adds: "Episcopi Wintoniensis" (Bishop of Waltham in Hants., a few miles south of Winchester), and that he sailed to Bordeaux March 4. They then trace his movements in France and Flanders till his return to England, where he landed at Dover, 10th June 1184; and Benedict says he at once went to the Abbey of Waltham. He could not, therefore, have been at Waltham in Essex in the years 1182-3.

² *Gerrase*, vol. ii, p. 410. It was by the settlement of this dispute that the manor of Lambeth passed to the See of Canterbury.

³ *Cott. MS. Tiberius*, c. 9, fo. 586.

their own will of the goods of that house, and to have full power of disposing of the barony as well as the other possessions of the said house. This liberty they had obtained in times long passed, but for greater security the King now granted and confirmed it to them. He also granted to them two markets, and conferred other greater benefits on them.¹

There is a letter from a Deputy Keeper of the Rolls, published in the 23rd vol. of the *Arch. Institute's Journal*, p. 294, referring to a mandate of the abbot of Waltham in 1286, calling on the dean to require the parishioners to repair the nave, which was then, as it has been since the Dissolution, used as the parish church.

And so the abbey remained until the Dissolution, the abbot ranking twentieth among the twenty-eight mitred abbots of England.²

Robert Fuller was the last abbot to whom the temporalities were restored, September 4th, 1526. He was afterwards elected prior of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and held the priorate in commendam with his abbey. He surrendered the abbey to the King on the 23rd March, 31 Hen. VIII (1539), having previously endeavoured to avert the fate of the church by making the King a present of Copthall.

A few months after the surrender the King bestowed a lease of the site of the church, with many large and rich lands, upon Sir Anthony Denny, Knt., for thirty-one years; who, dying about 2 Edw. VI, Dame Joan, his widow, purchased the fee in reversion for three thousand odd pounds. From the Dennys the site of the abbey passed by the marriage of a daughter to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, and afterwards came into possession of the family of Sir William Wake, Bart.

The gross income in the 26th Hen. VIII amounted to £1,079 12s. 1d., the clear revenue to £900 4s. 3d. Virtue engraved the seal and two counterseals of the abbey. An impression of the first on green wax is appended to a charter of the 23rd Hen. VIII in the

¹ Matt. Paris, *Eng. Hist.*, from 1235 to 1273.

² Ogbourne's *Hist. of Essex*, p. 180.

Chapter House of Westminster. It has also been engraved in Ogbourne's *History of Essex*.

The inscription round the common seal was : ✠ hoc . EST . SIGILL . ECCLESIE . SANCTE . CRUCIS DE WALTHAM. The first counterseal, appendant to a deed of the year 1253, which is also engraved in Ogbourne's *History*, has two heads in the area, supposed to represent Tovi and Harold looking towards each other, circumscribed HOC CARTA FEDUS CUM TOVI FIRMAT HAROLDUS. The second counterseal was apparently an antique of the Roman times which had been dug up.¹

The deed of surrender of the abbey, with the seal appended, remains in the Augmentation Office, signed by the abbot, prior and sixteen canons.²

¹ *Dugd Monas.* (new edit.), vol. vi, 598-60.

² Ogbourne, *Hist. of Essex*.





THE CHURCH OF HOLY CROSS, WALTHAM.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

Read September 26th, 1896.



TO attempt the architectural description of the church of the Holy Cross, at what is now known as Waltham Abbey (the name of the town itself being that of the great monastic house once existing here) is not by any means the act of “flogging a dead horse”, but rather that of venturing to stride a very dangerous steed; for round this famous building there has, for many years past, raged fierce battles of dates and styles, and these particular subjects have for the most part engaged the keen wits of critics, not to the exclusion of but to the overshadowing of the great merits of the structure itself to a considerable extent. On this occasion it is proposed, first of all, to endeavour to realise in some degree what passed through the mind of the designer of this famous building as he conceived its plan, its sectional parts, and the veiwing of its walls, piers, and arches, as he intended them to be viewed by his compeers and by all who should hereafter use them for the sacred purposes they were intended to facilitate, or for the future generations which might see them. But little did the designer think of the doubts and difficulties which his work would entail upon the learned historian, the professional architect, and of some members of the British Archæological Association, all living at the end of the nineteenth century. He had in his mind only the permanence, grandeur, and utility of what he was about to erect.

In the churchyard, to the south of the church, there stands a fine elm-tree of enormous growth; its trunk

measures no less than 21 ft. 8 ins. in circumference just below the start of the lowest branch ; its foliage now spreads to a diameter of 6·3 ft, and it is said at one time it was double this width across. Its roots must date back for many centuries, and it presents in its dimensions, form and beauty, a great work of natural growth. Cut through its grand trunk a few feet from the ground, and cast away all belonging to it save its wide-spread roots and the stump of its trunk, and a fair representation of what now remains of Waltham Abbey would present itself to view. What now stands as Waltham Abbey church is but a limb of the great conventual establishment which, in former years, covered the surrounding site. The head, the arms, the body are gone, and what is seen now is, as it were, but the lower extremity of a growth, rooted at a time of one of England's changeful gasps, revived under a new and foreign rule, nurtured by the powers of the highest in the land through succeeding centuries, but at last reduced to an appalling ruin ; nay, the very inward spirit which had sustained its long life is now wiped out, that part only which appertained to the Church at large is left to us.

This dismemberment of a great whole may well account for the disappointment which must happen to those who know anything of the history of Holy Cross Abbey, and see it for the first time. But even in the fragment which remains there is indeed material for the exercise of keen wit, reasoning on long experiences, and admiration for the art of true and genuine architectere. "*Rude in its character*", is it said ? Well, if in its great masses, its broad spaces, and its simplicity of treatment, it may—in the taste of an age eight hundred years its younger—appear of a masculine type, a study of its details will, be assured, reveal science in its construction, delicacy of proportion, refinements of design and beauties of ornamentation, which the most cultured of the lovers of art must appreciate and admire.

Turning to the general subject more in detail, let us in the first place dwell upon what remains to us of the Abbey and its surroundings ; and first of the latter.

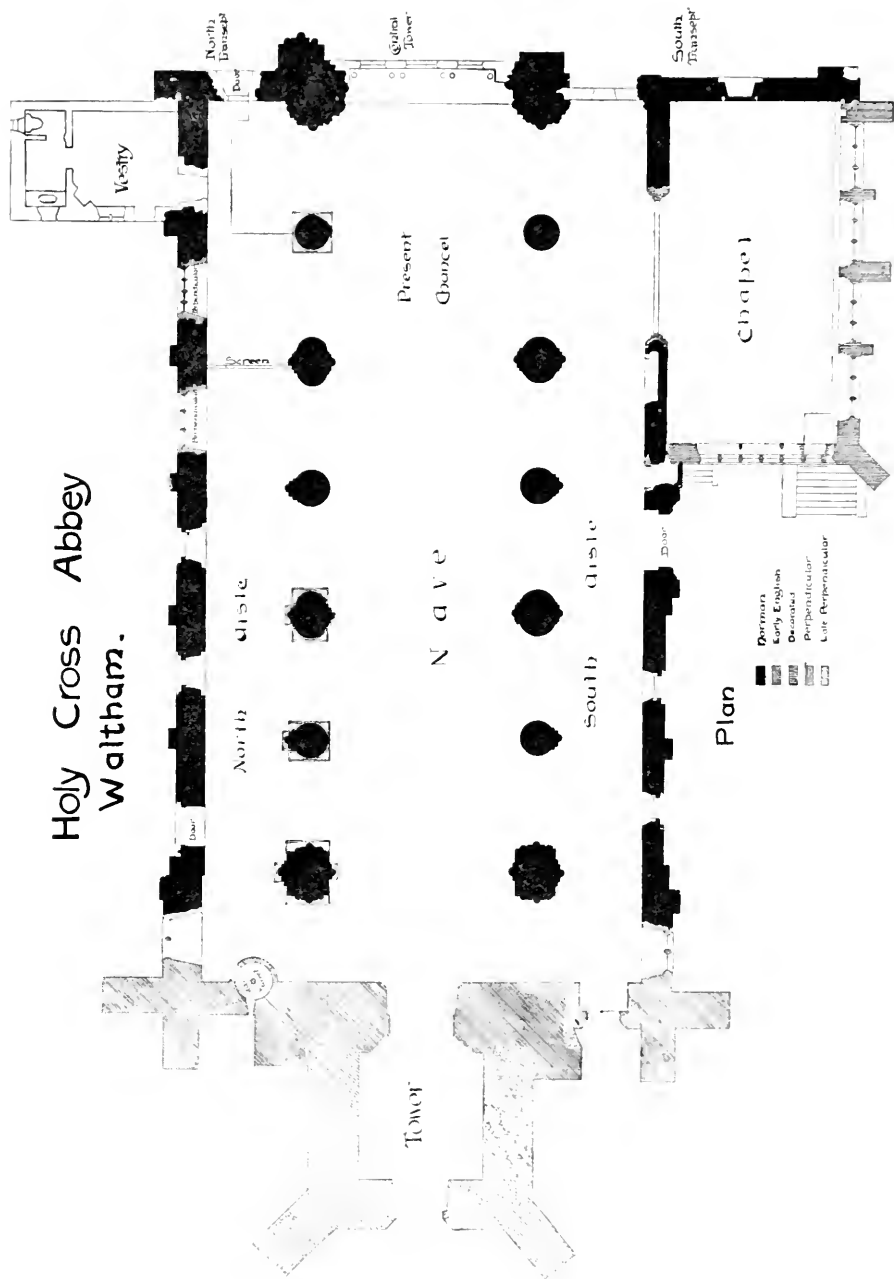
For its situation, choice was made of the valley of the

river Lea, and within some 200 yards from its banks, and on the eastern side, the buildings were placed. Abbeys were usually self-contained, and the first essential in such an establishment was the means for grinding corn both for man and beast; and possibly some trade was added to the work for the "The House" by using the mill for neighbouring farmers and others.¹ The bed of the river Lea being of a flat gradient, and the damming of the river probably difficult of execution, it was necessary, in order to obtain power on the mill wheel, to form a "race" of considerable length, not less than about a mile. Such mill-stream or race was formed which brought the water-power from the river to the mill, and this was placed between the Abbey church and the great gateway. Then, in times of flood, it was necessary that a "waste" should be formed from the mill stream before it reached the wheel: this also was carried out. Then, of course, after the water had served the mill, it had to be conveyed again to the river, and this was done by what is known as the "mill tail". All these three water-courses still remain, namely, "the mill stream", taken from the river far up to the north; "the waste", running from the stream to the tail; and lastly, "the tail", taking the spent water from the mill to the river again. The mill stream was further made use of for providing another essential of an abbey establishment, namely, the means of breeding and cultivating fish, which formed so large a part of the diet of the monks. The remains of the fish-stews are still to be seen to the west of the mill stream, in the field to the north-west of what is known as Harold's Bridge. This bridge would serve as the approach to the fish-ponds from the Abbey precincts, and for other purposes.² The Abbey precincts had to

¹ As steam-power, now at a ripe age, was not then amongst the many lights with which the Middle Ages were blest, the monks most wisely availed themselves of that power which a bountiful Providence had provided, in the weight and force of the running stream which had its course along this fruitful valley.

² It is recorded that the mill was given by the first wife of Henry II. No part of the original mill building appears to remain, but the present mill occupies its site.

Holy Cross Abbey Waltham.



be enclosed, according to custom, and for this purpose a wall was built: probably the north and east walls ran along the lines of the present walls fencing the gardens which now occupy the Abbey precincts. On the west it may be that the boundary followed the mill stream and tail,¹ and on the south that rear line of Sun Street and Church Street marks the line of boundary. To this large enclosure the Abbey gate, placed on the mill stream just north of the mill, gave entrance; and herein was contained the parish church, the monks' church, with its cloister and its surrounding buildings, the abbot's dwelling, the infirmary buildings, and probably their cloister; the gardens, and the burial-places of both monks and parishioners. Happily part of the church is still remaining, that is, the portion used as the parish church, the gateway, and a small vaulted building to the north of the monks' church.

Excavations made by Mr. E. Littler have disclosed that, east of the present church, the central tower, with its transepts and presbytery, extended to a considerable length.

To turn now to the present church. It is necessary, in the first place, shortly to define the terms which are made use of in these remarks. When referring to the "Norman period" the years assigned to it are those first given by Rickman, as from 1066 to 1190; and the other periods used by him are also followed here, being those usually, but not universally, adopted by those writing on the subject.

As we see it now, the church consists on plan (speaking generally) of the nave and aisles of the Norman church, the two eastern bays being used as a chancel; a chapel on the south side, its east end lining with the east end of the nave, and a western tower, together with a vestry and its offices, built about 1870. Beneath the south chapel, for its full size, is a crypt, separately entered from the west end.

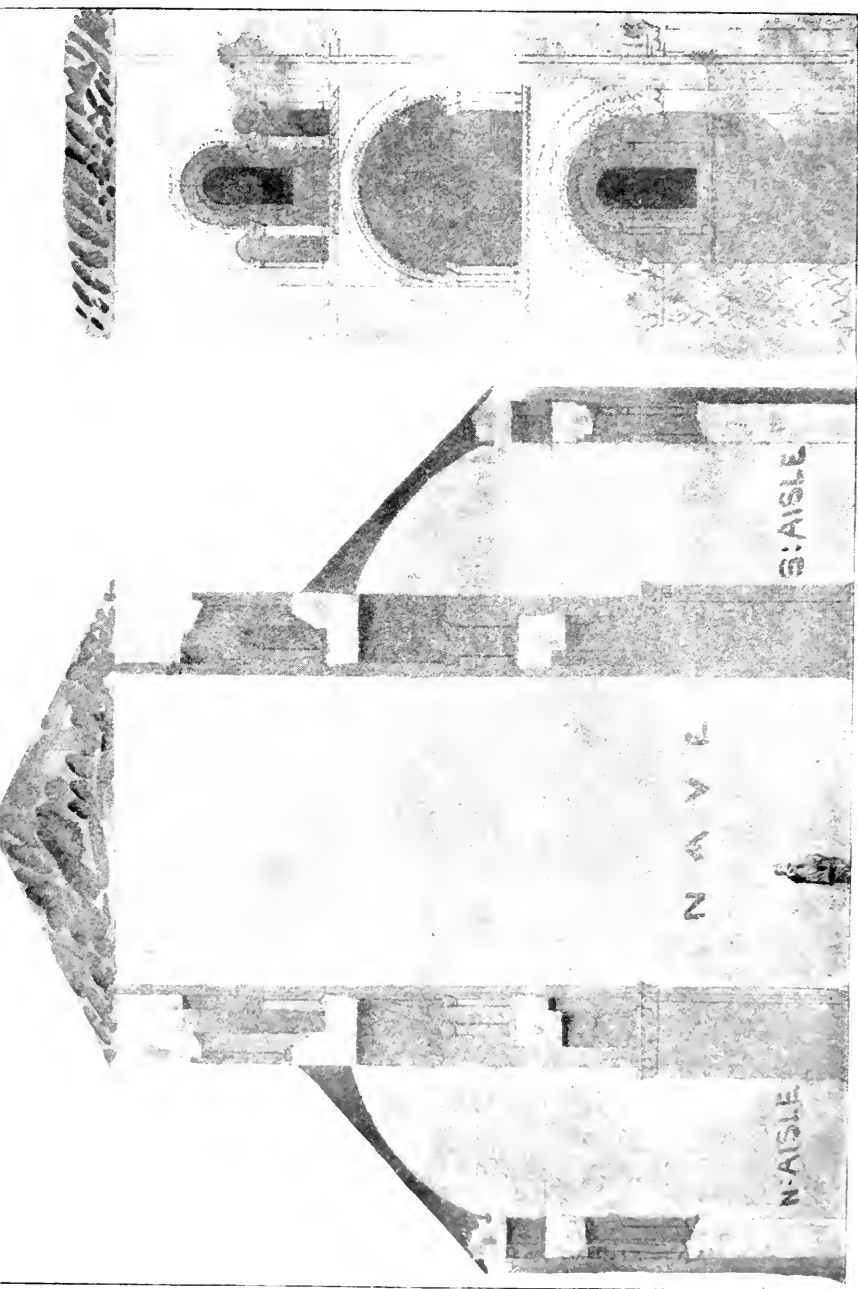
The main entrance to the church is by a doorway in

¹ A portion of an ancient wall still exists by the side of the mill stream, between the church and the gateway.

the west wall of the tower. There is also a large south doorway in the middle bay of the aisle, and a north doorway in the second bay from the west end, not now commonly used, as well as another doorway not often used at the west end of the south aisle. At the east end of the north aisle is also a small doorway, entered from the land of the enclosed adjoining gardens. At the time of the erection of the vestry, a doorway was made in the wall of the north aisle for access between the two, and an outer doorway formed from the vicarage garden. The south chapel is entered, from the churchyard only, by a doorway in its west wall near the angle buttress at south-west corner, approached by a flight of steps rendered necessary by the floor level of the chapel being raised above the floor of the nave, so as to allow height for the crypt below the chapel. At the west end of the north aisle there is a doorway next the aisle to an internal circular stair, which now leads to the ringing room in the tower, and to the roofs. There is also a small doorway just east of the south entrance, which is said to have led to a room over a south porch, but there is doubt as to the accuracy of this suggestion. It is hardly necessary to mention the big folding doors near the last-mentioned one, the purpose of which seems to be to aid the action of the heating apparatus, which now (unfortunately, from an architectural point of view) occupies the whole of a spacious, well-lighted, and vaulted crypt.

The dimensions of the plan are as follows, namely :—Length from east to west within the walls 108 ft., the clear space of bays 10 ft. 3 ins.; width of nave, 23 ft. 8 ins.; diameter of circular piers, 4 ft. 7 ins.; width of north aisle, 9 ft. 7 ins.; of the south aisle, 9 ft. 10 ins., measured from wall to circular piers. The tower is 15 ft. 11 ins. east and west, and 15 ft. 5 ins. north and south. The south chapel, called The Lady Chapel, is 41 ft. 7 ins. long, and 21 ft. wide.

In cross-section, the nave is of three stages in height, having an arcade between it and the aisles, and a triforium and clerestory with low-pitched modern but substantial roof covered with slates, and a flat ceiling



Cross Section

Elevation, 1 Bay.

inside. The aisle has a sharp-pitched lean-to roof, covered with slates, and with a curved boarded ceiling to the inside.

The height of the nave from the floor to the flat ceiling is 52 ft., and of the aisles 30 ft. 7 ins. from floor to wall plate. The height from the floor to the springing of the arches of the arcade is 15 ft. 8 ins., and from the floor to the springing of the triforium arches, 29 ft. 4 ins., and to the springing of the clerestory arches 43 ft. The nave walls are 4 ft. 6 ins. thick, and the aisle walls 3 ft. 6 ins.

The original lighting was by single-light windows in the aisles and clerestory, and probably a great central window in the west end, and a single-light west window to each end. The circular windows in the aisle lighted the triforium storey. Many of the shallow external buttresses still remain to the aisles.

The bays of the main arcade are not treated as a repeat of a single bay, but are grouped into pairs, with a main and a minor pier to each pair, and each main pier has a semi-shaft next the nave running from floor to roof; but the corresponding shaft over the smaller piers starts at the level of the sill string to the triforium storey. As at present seen, the triforium stage has only a single arch, the inner ring of which is wanting. There can be but little doubt that this wide opening was subdivided: it may be into two, three, or four smaller openings. The clerestory stage has a wide central opening, and a small one on each side of it. The walls, in all probability, carried a massive open-timbered roof, which would certainly form an appropriate crown to this magnificent nave. The gaunt aisles as now seen, it must be said, have lost their first proportions, for they were assuredly spanned by appropriate vaulting, or what means the shafting on the aisle side of the nave piers? and for what reason do the strings under the aisle windows appear with gaps? and what else but vaulting shafts account for the present appearance of the aisle walls where the inner quoins of the vaulting shafts still appear? and what do the arched lines in the upper part of these walls mean, except as indicating the lines of former vaulting?

Above all, who that has studied Norman art does not shun the idea that the original designer of this building omitted the vaulting of these aisles, both on the score of proportion and utility? Excepting that when these aisles were encumbered with great galleries, the real condition of things could not be seen, it would be hard to conceive that any practical man could for a moment think that they were originally devoid of vaulting.

It will be seen that the two western piers of the arcades are not only of differing shape, but also of much larger dimensions than the other piers; and on the exterior it is also to be seen that the aisle walls have strengthening projections opposite to these piers, and the walls themselves are increased in thickness. The late Professor Freeman, it is said, first pointed out that these special provisions were designed in reference to two western towers which originally occupied this position. Beyond the above-named points there are now no further indications that such towers were actually executed, except that in the western bay no clerestory was provided. On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that towers at these points did not form part of the original western façade.

The first material change affecting the design of this church was the removal of its west wall and the substitution of the present one. What the original of the Norman west front was there seems to be no clue to; it was taken down and wholly rebuilt. But it must be safe to say that the western front of Rochester Cathedral (which we have recently seen under the able guidance of the Rev. Mr. Levett) represents the probable characteristics of the original Waltham front. Or it may be that Waltham went beyond this Cathedral in dignity and elaboration, equalling the west front of the ancient Benedictine Priory Church of St. Mary of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and to which, with other drawings of this church, further allusion will be made when the question of dates is reached. It may be asked, What reason could there be for pulling down such a fine front so completely in harmony with the other parts of the church? Answer

to this may be made : First, that for aught we know, structural difficulties may have arisen ; and then the motives of men living under circumstances now remote are not easy to be discerned. And again, then, as now, fashion had its changes, architectural styles succeeded one another, and in those days at least the past fashions were scarcely ever followed by a succeeding age ; and, above all, ambition was deeply seated in the hearts of men then, as now, and out of such ambition and change of views, then, as now, came novel performances : it may be to the advantage or disadvantage of succeeding ages. In the case of the rebuilding of this front, if a great work was taken down, another was substituted, if out of harmony with the building at large, yet in itself of exceeding beauty and boldness. Of this the great western doorway with its adjacent arcadings, the slight remains of the windows above the doorway, and the circular windows, and pinnacles, and buttresses to the aisles, sufficiently testify. The triforium floor and the gutters of the roofs were in all probability approached by stairs in this west wall, one on each side, with a passage running across the west end connecting them. An approximation to this arrangement is still in existence.

The other principal alterations in the church consist of : the pointed arch work in the clerestories, the attempt to abandon the triforium storey, and to make the church of only two stages in height, as seen in the second bay from the west end ; to provide for the erection of the Lady Chapel on the south side, and of the insertion in the north aisle of a three-light window early in the fourteenth century, and of a four-light window late in the fifteenth century. Everyone (who cares for such things) must thankfully rejoice that the bad taste which started to remodel the church, as seen at the west end, so as to destroy its Norman character, was frustrated in its attempt : either by abhorrence of its own performances, or from the fear that their church would come to the ground ere they had completed the hideous change. To this same sad taste the removal of the vaulting of the aisles is probably attributable. The remains of ancient

fittings are extremely small, but there is a screen across the north aisle at the second pier from the east, of plain but excellent design of early fourteenth-century date. The monumental remains in the church have been exhaustively dealt with by Mr. Fredk. Chancellor, in his great work on this branch of ecclesiology in relation to the county of Essex.

Of the work done within recent years only a few words will be expected. The name of the late W. Burges, who was engaged as architect, is at least a guarantee that true architectural design prevails in it. The question of the style of treatment was, perhaps, more fitly his prerogative than that of any one else. He chose not to attempt to work in harmony with the Norman designer's detail, but to trust to his own knowledge and skill in the style he most favoured, namely, French Gothic of the thirteenth century. Criticism now is hardly admissible, but this at least it may be permitted to say, namely, that if at first a discordance strikes the eye in relation to the east end, further reflection and study bring to light the fact, that, though in another style, Mr. Burges's additions bear the marks of his own genius in the solidity, breadth, and artistic treatment of his work. This may be specially noticed in his large arch, nearly under the ancient western arch of the nave.

Before leaving notice of this fine interior, dwell for a moment or two on its superlative fitness of design, noting first of all the proportion of the relation of solids to voids; then the exquisite relation of height to width and length; also the proportion of the several stages in height, and, last of all, the effectiveness of its decorative details. Then, in the mind's eye, lift the flat ceiling—not to any great height of roof, but enough to properly harmonise with the walls, and to put into it sufficient of the mystery of dimness which its great total height must have secured—and say whether in the Norman church of Holy Cross at Waltham, when its eastern length formed part of it, there was not a building here whose architectural effect could hardly be surpassed? “Rude in its design”, does anyone think? Well, to the flourishing Queen-

NORTH AISLE (MODERN)

N A V E

SOUTH AISLE

CHANCEL

(C.E. STREET)

TOWER

VESTRY

Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 Feet

TUTEURY, CO. STAFFORD.—CHURCH OF THE BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST. MARY.

Anne-ish taste of this day it may be so, but paying regard to the great architectural productions of the wide world, surely not so.

This brings us to the very important addition known as the Lady Chapel on the south side of the church. This is a building of fourteenth-century design, of the dimensions before given, and is of two pairs of bays, having on the south side two great end buttresses and one central one, with two lesser ones between the centre and the ends. The first point which demands attention is that the east end is without any window, but its wall was decorated by a painting in colours representing what is known as "The Doom". Its treatment has been fairly made out, and there are particulars of it in the vestry. This east wall of the chapel was the west wall of the south transept, and its face next the transept is still preserved, with its windows, panels, and strings. The determination to glaze the south and west sides is fully expressed by the four three-light windows in the flank, and that of six-lights in the gable. The motive in providing this excess of window surface was probably to compensate, not only for the blocking up (occasioned by the erection of this chapel) of the south transept windows, but also of three windows in the south aisle; thereby involving that three bays of the east end of the church on this side should be lighted only by the chapel windows through the arched opening between it and the south aisle. It is probable also that this reduction in the lighting of this part of the church gave rise to the insertion of the two large windows on the north side. The large arch on the north side of the chapel was formed by breaking through the south aisle wall, and its treatment is of the plainest character. There is no direct connection between this chapel and the church, and it would seem to have been intended for separate services under parochial and not monastic control. It was furnished, of course, with its own altar, piscina, and sedilia. The windows and doorway in this chapel are of more elaborate design than any other part of the church; and the treatment of the large west window, with its second face of tracery on the internal line of the wall,

exhibits the artistic resources of the mediæval designer in a remarkable manner.

Having the southern windows, and having determined to employ a large square-headed window in the gable, how could this have been of better design? The crypt beneath this chapel, with its groined roof, characteristic windows and doorway, was worthy of the superstructure, and was probably a repository of famous relics, but is now put to a purely utilitarian use, and is not easy of detailed examination.

The western tower only now remains for our notice. If Mr. Burges's opinion be correct (and there is no reason to doubt it) that the erection of this tower saved the church from falling, we may indeed bless the unintentional service which its builders in the seventeenth century rendered, not only to Waltham Abbey but to the country at large, by the preservation of this historic church. The main features of the tower, its doorway, west window, and the materials of its walls, have mostly been quarried, as it were, from the ruins of the eastern portion of the Abbey church.

It still serves the useful purpose of accommodating a ring of eight bells, cast by Bryan, of Hertford, in 1806; but it must be confessed that it forms a very disappointing feature on a first view of the church from its main approach, and the archæologist yearns for the presence of the great front which adorned the west end of the Norman church, or even for that which the ambition or other motive of the early fourteenth-century improvers erected in its stead.

This general view of our subject could hardly close without a word or two on the exterior of the building.

The east end is, to the archæologist, perhaps the most interesting part, as it discloses the west arch of the great central tower, with the abutments of its north and south sides, and the wall within the west arch partitioning the parish from the monastic church, with two doorways for communication; also the east arch to the south aisle, and the fact that there was not a corresponding arch on the north side, together with the internal faces of the transepts, and the abutment of the south wall of the



TUTBURY.—NORTH SIDE NAVE.

Note.—Filing in to Triforium. G. E. Street.

south transept. From this point, also, by the aid of Mr. Littler's plan, the extent of the monastic part of the church and of the domestic buildings can be best appreciated, and the approach to the only remaining fragment on this side can be made, and the Abbey gate and "Harold's-bridge" visited. Both the north and south flanks follow on the lines of what is seen of them in the interior. The north doorway is simple in its design, but that on the south side is of fine dimensions and of elaborate treatment.

We have now reviewed, as briefly as the subject would allow, and only in a general way, what is known as Waltham Abbey church; and it may well be asked (notwithstanding the loss of so much) whether the abiding feeling which should remain with us should not be a sense of gratitude that this town possesses so much of the noble architecture of the Norman builders, and that, at a difficult crisis, the talent of the late Mr. Burges was employed in the preservation of the ancient remains, and in its restoration for the decency of Divine Worship according to current ideas.

Finally, and, let it be said, briefly, we come to the vexed question of dates; and first of all let us try distinctly to understand what are the actual differences in opinion with respect to dates. All who have written on the subject are agreed that the remaining early church is of Norman design. Mr. Arthur Ashpitel, a learned and respected member of this Association, in an early volume of its *Transactions*, expresses a sort of wish that (though of Norman design) it should have been built by Harold, our last Saxon monarch.

The late Professor Freeman writes, in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*: "A large portion of the original interior remains untouched: an interior deserving attentive study as one of the noblest specimens of northern Romanesque." And again: "Is the existing building really the work of Harold?" (1041-1066). And further—"After most carefully weighing all the evidence, I have come—though not without doubt and hesitation—to the conclusion that the balance of evidence inclines to the opinion that the Romanesque

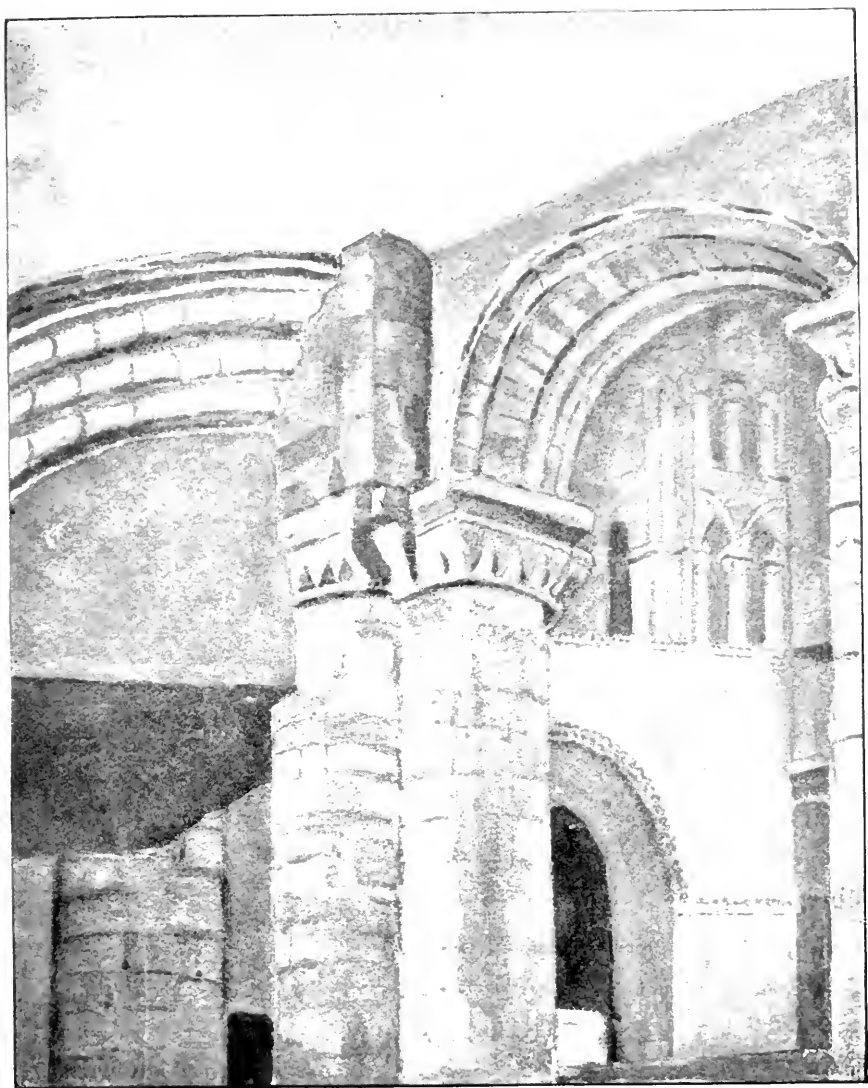
portions of the present church are really portions of the original church built by King Harold. . . . The consecration of Harold's church is fixed at the latest at 1060." . . . "Harold's erection might have been replaced by another. The time when we most naturally look for such a change would be when Henry II (1177) entirely remodelled the foundation, substituting monks for secular canons established by Harold." . . . "But if the architecture looks too much advanced for 1066, it does not look advanced enough for 1177." . . . "By whomsoever built, Waltham Abbey is undoubtedly a Norman building." This, in Mr. Freeman's nomenclature, does not necessarily mean a post-Conquest building.

In 1861, the late Mr. Burges published a statement of the dates and other matters relating to the church, in which the nave is included, as of the time of Harold.

At a later date, Mr. Edward H. Buckler published a book entitled "*Historical and Architectural Notes on Waltham Abbey*, in which he expresses his opinion as follows:—"The progress of our knowledge of early Norman architecture has been so considerable of late years as to justify our belief that there is no sign of any very early work at Waltham Abbey." Again:—"We have evidence that the work has been built from the east, westwards, thus following the system of which there are so goodly a number of examples."

As late as the year 1890, Mr. J. Arthur Reeve read a paper, at a meeting of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society in the Abbey, which contains the following expressions of opinion:—

"The theory which, as I believe, accounts for all the phenomena which we find here, is simply this: that from the west wall, up to and including the second pier from the east end, on both sides of the nave, we have Harold's work—perfect on the south side, and perfect on the north side up to the stringcourse below the clerestory; that the two eastern bays, together with the western arch of the original central tower, and the remains of the south transept, were erected by Henry I during the lifetime of his first wife (1100-1117), and that the clerestory in the western bays on the north side of the church was probably reconstructed by him after his second marriage (1117-1135)."



TUTBURY.—IN SOUTH AISLE.

These are the deliberate opinions of archaeologists and architects who have given very diligent study to the question of dates in this building. Think what presumption it would be for a stranger to come here, and, after a comparatively cursory view of the subject, to pronounce on the conclusions above recited. That is not what was undertaken on this occasion. But Mr. Freeman advises comparison of one building with another, and many examples might have been brought forward in this respect; but it happens that some details of the Priory church of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, are at hand, and are here produced. This church was begun, as Sir Oswald Mosley relates, in 1080, and the founder, Henry de Ferrers, was interred in it before 1090; the charter states that the foundation was (amongst other good intentions) "for the soul of King William and Queen Matilda." It will be seen that this church is not unlike, in its general expression, the Abbey church now under discussion, and that its details favour an earlier character than Waltham Holy Cross. Then, the Norman part of Rochester Cathedral is fresh in the memory of those present, and, above all, the early part of St. Alban's Cathedral is well within our recollection. It is hardly within the scope of this paper to criticise the reasons for the conclusions others have come to as to these dates; but it may well be asked that the effect on the minds of those who hold to the Saxon theory, by reason of the belief that Harold built a church here, should be borne in mind, and also that Mr. Freeman himself emphatically says that the example is unique. But for this historic statement, would Mr. Reeve consider the minute deviations in detail which he tries to establish between the west and east portions be to his mind enough to account for a Saxon date? What, in my humble view, is significant, is the fact that not a single work of Saxon design or workmanship is present, except possibly in the lower part of the eastern face of the south transept west wall, and the external rubble facings in the south aisle. But, on the other hand, the design, the workmanship and the ornamentation are all Norman, and in all probability Norman oversight controlled the work.



OBJECTS OF INTEREST IN WALTHAM ABBAY CHURCH.

BY REV. J. H. STAMP, CURATE.

Read September 26th, 1896.

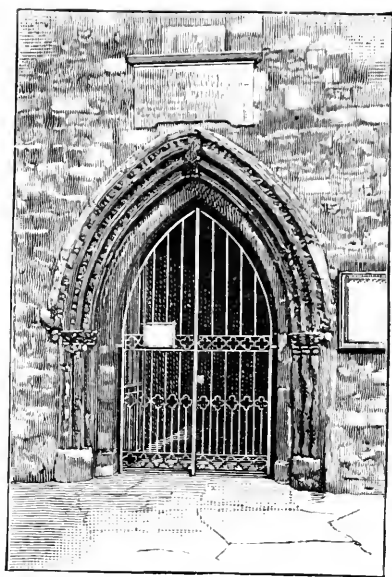


MUST first say how glad I am, in the absence of the Vicar, to have the privilege of welcoming the members of the Association; and to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Society for the valuable assistance given to me, in the records of past transactions, in the arduous work of compiling a complete history of this famous Abbey church.

I proceed now to give a brief account of the modern history of the church, with a reference to various objects of interest.

The ancient choir, two short transepts, and the central tower, were destroyed after the dissolution of the monastery in 1540. The only remains of this magnificent work is the grand Norman arch at the present east end. The rough way in which this arch was filled in is shown by an engraving suspended on the south wall of the modern vestry. The remainder of the east end is the work of the late W. Burges, Esq., who was responsible for the restoration of the building in 1859-60, when the upper part was completed, but the reredos was not inserted until 1876. The cartoons for the windows were designed by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and the glass is the work of Messrs. Powell, of Whitefriars. The ceiling, similar in treatment to that of Peterborough Cathedral, was painted during the restoration by E. J. Poynter,¹ Esq., son of Ambrose Poynter, Esq., the architect who

¹ Now President of the Royal Academy.



WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.—WEST DOORWAY.



WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.—THE ABBEY GATEWAY.

restored the grand west doorway in 1853. The restoration of the church was judiciously carried out, at a cost of £5,000, under the supervision of Mr. Burges. The floor of the church was reduced to its original level; the whitening and plaster were removed from the pillars and walls, and the hideous galleries which had also been erected during the eighteenth century on the west and south were taken away, and the second pillar from the east end on the south side was rebuilt.

The reredos, carved in stone and coloured, is the work of the late Mr. Nicholls, and was presented by a lady parishioner, together with the Holy Table and pulpit, at a cost of £1,500, in memory of her husband.

The glass in the Norman and Decorated windows is all modern: none of the old glass has been preserved: but it is interesting to notice that the famous east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, originally belonged to Waltham, and was presented to this Abbey church by Henry VIII. It has a most romantic history.

Another painted window is mentioned by Dr. Fuller, the historian, who was incumbent here in 1648. It contained a representation of the pious founder, King Harold, and was destroyed by the Puritan soldiers during the Commonwealth as an idolatrous picture.

At the time of the Dissolution, there were forty-six tombs of abbots, earls, knights, and other notable persons. Among these were the tombs of King Harold, Hugh Neville, Lord Justice of England, and a favourite of King Richard I, and Robert Passelew, Archdeacon of Lewes, the favourite of Henry III. These monuments were destroyed when the choir was demolished, and the only remains at present existing are a fragment of Harold's tomb, a purbeck marble slab from an abbot's tomb, and the lid of a stone coffin, said to have been discovered in 1786, about 260 ft. from the present east end.

The oldest tomb now in existence is that of Sir Edward Denny, at the south-east corner of the chancel. This knight was the second son of Sir Anthony Denny, the favourite of Henry VIII, to whom that monarch granted the estates of the ancient monastery. Sir Edward was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for services

rendered in the suppression of a rebellion in Ireland. His effigy, and that of his wife—one of the Queen's ladies—appear on the tomb in a recumbent position, and their six sons and four daughters, kneeling, are represented below. He died in 1599, and his burial is recorded in the second volume of the Parish Registers, which were commenced in 1563.

The fragments inserted in the east wall, near the tomb, were discovered under the floor in 1859, and it is supposed that they formed part of the beautiful statuary in the Lady Chapel.

The effigy on the west of the tomb is that of Lady Greville, of Harold's Park Mansion, the last house in which King Harold slept before the fatal conflict with the Norman invader. She was a niece of Lord Gray, Duke of Suffolk, and the widow of Henry, the son and heir of Sir Anthony Denny. After the death of her first husband she married Sir Edward Greville. This figure was originally recumbent, and formed part of a handsome tomb near the Holy Table, lying under a canopy supported by two marble pillars.

Weever gives an epitaph on John Cressy and his wife, Joan, but this has long since disappeared. The Cressys were related to Archbishop Crammer, and it was at their house in the Romeland, a few yards from this place, that the famous discussion took place which led to the Reformation in this country.

The marble tomb at the north-west of the chancel is that of Robert Smith, a wealthy sea-captain, who died in 1697. On his tomb has been temporarily placed the bust of Justice Wollaston, of the time of the Commonwealth, whose signature was appended to the Contracts of Marriage on the ejection of the Clergy. Near this bust is the fragment of Harold's tomb, and a roughly-hewn figure of a dog, dislodged from the west front, and known as a *Harehold*—a play on the name of the founder.

On the west of the tomb stand the remains of a carved screen, probably brought from the ancient choir when it was destroyed.

There are only three old mural brasses in the church, and these are affixed to the south wall. One at the west

end serves as a memorial of Edward Stacy and Katherine his wife, died 1555 and 1565. Their son, Francis, is represented kneeling behind his father. The name of Edward Stacy heads the pension list of lay officers connected with the Abbey at the time of the Dissolution. The third name on the list is that of the famous Thomas Tallis, the father of English church music, and the organist of Waltham Abbey at that period.

On the east of this brass another bears the name of Thomas Colte, died 1559, and Magdalene his wife, died 1591. Their six sons and four daughters are also represented in the posture of devotion. Above the figures are three shields bearing the arms of the family. An amusing story, told by Dr. Fuller, shows how Sir Thomas Colte waylaid and caught a Waltham monk in a buckstall on the marsh, as the erring brother was returning from Cheshunt nunnery one dark night, and also how he presented him at Court in the morning.

On the west of the south door is a much smaller brass in memory of Robert Rampston, of Chingford, a benefactor to this parish, who died in 1585. Colte's memorial brass was formerly attached to the floor of the church, whilst the other two were affixed to the pillars, which still bear traces of the disfigurement.

On the floor at the east of Captain Smith's tomb is a black stone with a brass plate to the memory of Henry Austin, who died in 1638. He was Gentleman of the Horse to James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle, the favourite of James I, who accompanied that monarch to London from Scotland on his accession to the throne.

On the third pillar from the east end on the south side, there are some interesting marks in the chevron ornament, indicating the existence of brass fluting in ancient times. This decoration is alluded to in the writings of the late Professor Freeman.

On the fourth pillar there are traces of the chain and desk to which were attached the great Bible of Henry VIII and Erasmus' *Paraphrase*.

The font, of Purbeck marble, is ancient, but it has lost its original shape and character.

The heads of the old Abbey church doors occupy a place near the entrance to the tower.

The ancient whipping-post and stocks, bearing date 1598, find a temporary refuge in the porch under the tower, whilst the more ancient pillory stands near the schoolroom opposite the church.

The Lady Chapel was restored by Mr. Burges, through the generosity of Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., K.C.M.G., of Warlies Park, in this parish, and now Governor-General of South Australia. An unsightly porch which stood in front of the building, and had served as a vestry, was removed, and a new robing-room erected at the north of the chancel. The beautiful Decorated windows, which had been partly bricked up and covered with plaster, were restored. Mr. Burges also discovered, on removing the plaster from the east wall, the remains of a mediæval painting of The Doom, or Last Judgment. A copy of the painting, taken soon after the discovery, is preserved in the vestry.

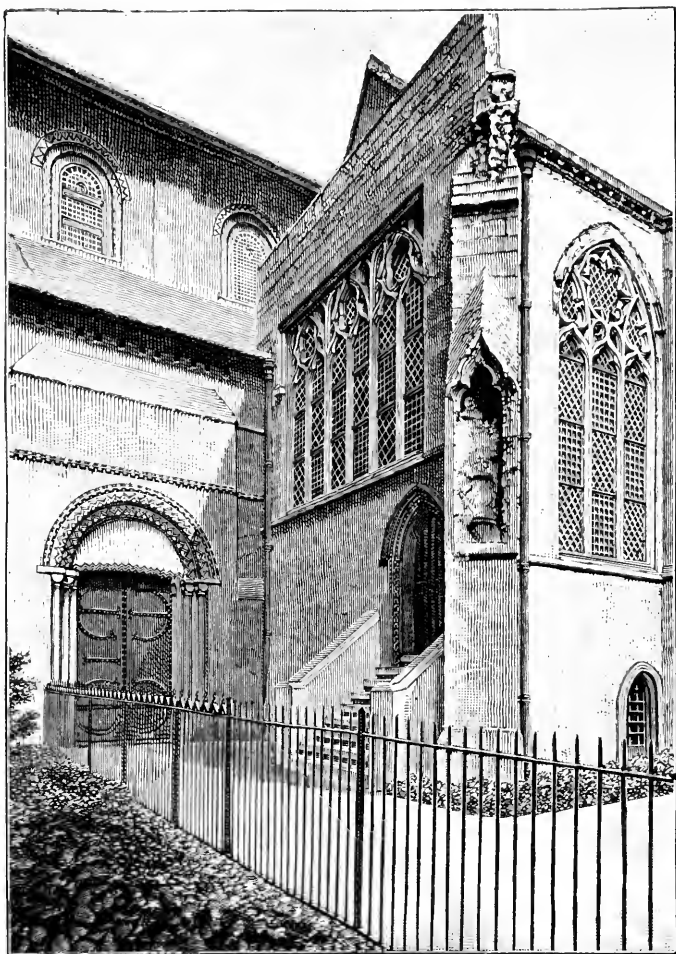
The remains of the old piscina may still be seen in the south-east corner of the chapel; and traces of the old Norman windows appear on the north wall which originally formed the exterior of the south wall of the church.

The elegantly-carved screen which spans the large arch in this wall was erected by the parishioners in memory of their late vicar, the Rev. J. Francis, incumbent from 1846 to 1885, and the moving spirit in the restoration of 1859-60. It was designed by Mr. Reeve, the successor of Mr. Burges, and carved by Mr. Forsyth. Two angels exalting the cross—the arms of the ancient Abbey—are represented at the top of the screen. The communion rails were also designed by Mr. Reeve.

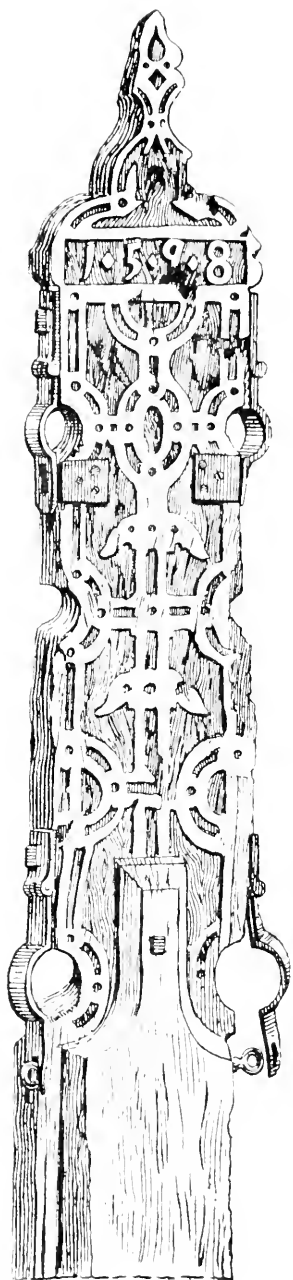
A few relics of the past have found a refuge in the Lady Chapel, and among them may be found:—

1. The Old Clock, which served as the parish time-keeper from the days of Bishop Hall's incumbency, at the beginning of the seventeenth century until 1887, when an illuminated memorial clock, the present of J. Parnell, Esq., J.P., took its place.

2. The Carved Pulpit, which originally occupied a



WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.—THE LADY CHAPEL.



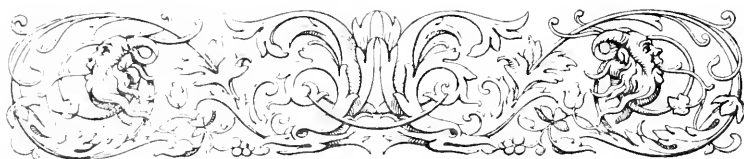
WALTHAM ABBEY.—WHIPPING-POST AND STOCKS.
Height, 5 ft. 9 in. Date, 1598.

place in the church, and stood there until it was removed to make room for the modern marble pulpit. The sounding-board has been converted into a table, which stands in the vestry.

The crypt under the chapel is described by Dr. Fuller as "the fairest that ever I saw". It has passed through many changes, and lost nearly every vestige of its former glory. In the palmy days of the Abbey it was a splendid little chapel, under the charge of a priest and his assistants, and even its furniture was overlaid with silver plate. It has since served as a prison-house for the Quakers, a burial-place, a storehouse for fuel, etc., a receptacle for bones, and is now a furnace-room, disfigured by several hideous brick erections.

In the safes in the new vestry are kept the ancient and modern registers, impressions of the ancient Abbey seal kindly presented by W. de Gray Birch, Esq. (one of the Secretaries of this Association), on the occasion of a visit of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society a few years ago: a coin of the Emperor Vespasian's, dug up a few yards from the Abbey; the traditional axe of King Harold, and a piece of the oak foundation of his mansion at Harold's Park; ancient Abbey keys; fragments of old glass; a pilgrim's bottle, etc.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH APRIL, 1897.

THOMAS BLASHILL, ESQ., V.-P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

- To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", 3rd Ser., vol. vi.
.. *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, for "Biographical Notes of the Librarians of Trinity College on Sir Edward Stanhope's Foundation", 1897.
.. *Smithsonian Institution*, for "Smithsonian Report", 1894.
.. *Royal Institute of British Architects*, for "Journal", second quarterly part, 1897.

Dr. Winstone exhibited some genuine specimens of ancient American pottery, found in burial mounds in Canada, and read a short paper descriptive of them, in which he remarked that the observation of archaeologists led to the belief that the eastern, or Atlantic, side of the continent of America was peopled by immigrants from Europe, which is supported by the opinion of geologists, who consider there was much more land in the Northern Atlantic than exists at the present time. He said there was evidence that America was inhabited at a very early period, and before the Mastodon or Mammoth became an extinct animal, for with the skeleton of the mammoth now in the Natural History Museum were dug up many stone arrow-heads. The mounds found in Canada are mostly burial mounds, and afford examples of various kinds of interments; and with them are often discovered objects of earthenware such as those exhibited, some of which were very tastefully decorated with lines arranged in various ways. It is interesting to notice the similarity of ornamentation

existing between the pottery of Northern Europe and that of North America.

Mr. Andrew Oliver read a paper upon "Old London", which was profusely illustrated by plans and old engravings of many now-vanished buildings. Mr. Oliver confined his remarks on this occasion more particularly to the west end, beginning at Hyde Park Corner, and traversing Piccadilly, Regent Street, the Haymarket, Charing Cross and the Strand, and Adelphi. The historical associations of each of these localities were dwelt upon, and the noble mansions and other buildings which in the past existed in these thoroughfares were described and illustrated by many interesting views.

Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. J. T. Irvine, in the absence of the author, upon "Some Specimens of Early Simple Headstones"—illustrated by many sheets of measured drawings and careful sketches. Mr. Irvine remarked that "as in mediæval times stone coffins and their stone lids were kept by the masons ready for sale, so headstones in great variety were kept ready prepared for those whose purses could only afford so simple a class of memorial". Of these, the better specimens were rounded into shape, their edges only moulded, and the sides left to be fitted in afterwards according to the desire of the purchasers. Amongst the stone districts of Northants, specimens of the oldest and simplest types are to be met with, as well as of those which exhibited the gradual change to the more richly ornamented body stone slabs. They dated mainly from early Norman times to about A.D. 1200.

Mr. Earle Way made an interesting exhibition of Roman and other relics found in Southwark, also a pot of slip ware, with an inscription and date, 1656, found at Wrotham, in Kent.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST APRIL, 1897.

R. DUPPA LLOYD, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", vol. vii, Part I.
 „ „ for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society", vol. xiv, Part 2, 1897.
 „ „ for "Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie ; Bulletin, St. Omer", Parts 2 and 3.
 „ „ for "Archæological Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society, vol. xl.

Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "Memorials of the Charter House", illustrated by many photographic views, plans, and other illustrations.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH MAY, 1897.

T. BLASHILL, ESQ., V.-P., *Hon. Treas.*, IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MOSTYN.

Vice-Presidents.

Ec officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K. T.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF WINCHELSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON; JAMES HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
W. DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
C. BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
W. H. COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.S.A.
COLONEL GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.
SIR ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A. (*Gar-
ter
King of Arms*)
ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.
REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.	W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.	A. OLIVER, Esq.
J. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.	LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN,
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.	L.C.C.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
A. G. LANGDON, Esq.	R. E. WAY, Esq.
RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq.	BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.
J. T. MOULD, Esq.	

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

Mr. S. Rayson laid on the table the Balance-sheet (see p. 172), which was accepted unanimously. Mr. Rayson said :—

“As compared with the previous year, 1895, the subscriptions show £6 6s. increase, and the entrance fees £13 13s. ; the sale of books also give an addition of £12 16s. 5d. ; while the profits of the Congress show an excess of £41 10s. 7d. ; but with regard to the Congress, the amount netted in 1895 was below the average, while in 1896 it was somewhat above the average amount.

“With reference to the expenditure, there was a considerable saving in the printing and illustrating the Journal ; indeed, the decrease on that head was as much as £51 9s. 7d., through the economy exercised by the Editor by cutting his garment according to his cloth. While it should be the aim of the Editor not to starve the Journal, it must be at the same time his object to keep the cost of its production within the amount the funds will allow for it. It is a satisfactory reflection that while in 1895 there was a balance of £8 18s. 9d. against the Association, in 1896 the year closed with a balance of £23 13s. 5d. in its favour.”

WEDNESDAY, 19TH MAY, 1897.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To J. Chalkley Gould*, for “Notes upon the Romano-British Settlement at Chigwell, Essex”; Pamphlet, 1895 ; and “The Site of Camulodunum or Colchester *versus* Chesterford. Pamphlet, 1895.
- To the Society*, for “Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society”, vol. ix, No. 2, 1897.
- „ „ for “Journal of the Brussels Archaeological Society” April, 1897.
- „ *Kent Archaeological Society*, for “Cantiana”, vol. xxii, 1897.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DECEMBER 1896.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank of England, 1 Jan. 1896	53	1	11	105	7	3
" " P. O. Savings Bank				158	9	2
Interest from P. O. Savings Bank				1	6	0
Annual subscriptions				204	15	0
Entrance fees				18	18	0
Sale of publications				22	8	0
Proceeds of London and Home Counties Congress				68	1	8

EXPENDITURE.

By outstanding liabilities for 1895 paid off	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Printing and Editing <i>Journal</i>				156	13	11
Illustrations to ditto				13	5	6
Less Dr. Fryer's Donation				4	4	0
Miscellaneous printing and advertising				9	1	6
Delivery of Journals				25	4	0
Rent and salaries				11	3	6
Postage, stationery, and incidentals				61	3	0
				16	6	7
£2 8s. 9d. Consols bo't.				279	12	6
Balance at Bank of England, 31 Dec. 1896				3	4	0
" " Post Office Savings Bank				69	14	5
" " with Sub-Treasurer				51	3	11
				4	8	0
Less printing account, unpaid				125	6	4
				101	12	11
Nett Balance in favour of the Association				23	13	5
				£473	17	10

£473 17 10

Audited and found correct, 16 March 1897.

(Signed) CHAS. J. WILLIAMS. } *Auditors.*
CECIL T. DAVIS.

Mr. Quick, the Curator of the Horniman Museum, exhibited some curiosities recently brought from Benin by some of the officers engaged in the late expedition. These curious objects had been saved from destruction by fire at the time of the capture, by reason of their having been in a stone house. One of them was a carved ivory staff of office, having the representation of a human figure holding a peculiar form of bell in an inverted position: this form of bell, it was said, was found only on the west coast of Africa. This staff was carried by the executioner, or one of his attendants, and its ornamentation showed evidence of Portuguese influences. Another object from the same region was a carved wooden case, having a sliding cover, bearing the image of the sacred bird (the Ju Ju bird). This case was used for the transmission of documents. An armlet and bracelet belonging to one of the wives of the king were also exhibited. Mr. Quick also exhibited some prehistoric implements found in excavating for the foundations of a house near the Victoria Embankment, consisting of the remains of a weapon or instrument formed from the antler of a deer, also the shank-bone of a horse or an ox.

The Rev. J. Cave-Browne exhibited a seal, bearing a foreign coat-of-arms and coronet, which seal was given by a dying French officer to an English officer, who had given him a drink of water upon the field of Waterloo.

Papers were read in the absence of their authors by Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, one from Mr. J. T. Irvine, descriptive of some prehistoric flint implements found at Orton Longville, in Huntingdonshire, by the Dowager Marchioness of Huntley, which was illustrated by some very careful drawings.

The other paper was explanatory of some recent discoveries on Brandon Hill, Bristol, by Dr. Fryer, where, at an early date, a hermitage and chapel were erected; but the first known occupant of which was Lucy de Newchurch, in 1351. These discoveries were made during the excavations for the foundation of the Cabot Memorial Tower, which is to occupy the site of the ancient hermitage. The excavations had been carried down to the millstone grit rock, of which the hill is composed, when a flooring of thin cement was met with, and on the removal of a portion of the floor a well-made grave was found, measuring 5 ft. 6 ins. in length and about 2 ft. deep, tapering from the shoulders to the feet. The grave lay east and west, and was carefully lined with masonry. The grave contained a skeleton, and close by were found the remains of two other skeletons. Some fragments of green glazed tiles were also found. The excavation produced several beds of ashes and dark-coloured earth, and some early tobacco

pipes and leaden bullets, which were found about 4 ft. above the earlier remains, indicating pretty distinctly the position of camp-fires during the sieges of Bristol in 1643-4. Dr. Fryer also contributed a short note on the composition of an Inca ornament, derived from the analysis of the metal of which it was composed.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JUNE, 1897.

At the Council Meeting, at 4.30 P.M., an interesting ceremony took place, the occasion being the presentation to Mr. W. de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., of an Address and Testimonial from some of the members and friends, on his retirement from the post of Honorary Secretary and Editor of the *Journal* of the Association. The Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D., V.P., occupied the chair, and in well chosen and appropriate words, expressive of his interest in the science of archaeology, and of his long friendship with and appreciation of Dr. Birch, handed him the gift, which took the form of a handsome gold demi-hunter watch.

Mr. A. Cates, V.-P., said the performance of the task of editing the papers and proceedings in the large number of yearly volumes, which comprise in their pages notices of all that has, in a prominent form, transpired in archaeology, has demanded much special knowledge and training; but Dr. Birch's position in the British Museum enabled him to keep in touch with all that is foremost in the antiquarian and archaeological world, whether of literature or of *vestigia*. The appearance of our volume being periodically looked for with much interest by that section of the world's men of science who devote themselves to the study of what is old, the attainments of the Secretary marked him out in an especial manner for the post of Editor; which, indeed, required an accurate knowledge of many languages and an extensive acquaintance with what had already been done in the various departments of which the British Archaeological Association takes cognisance, combined with a taste and leaning towards the task, and a method of conducting researches in a proper spirit. We all know that Dr. Birch has not been found wanting in any of these qualifications, and the Society much regrets that he (in the course of time) finds himself desirous of handing down to younger minds the task of keeping the Association current with the times, and maintaining the high standard of its *Journal*.

The following members subscribed to the *Testimonial to Dr. Birch*: The Marquess of Bute, V.-P.; The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, V.-P.; The Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson; Sir E. Maunde Thompson;

Canon W. Sparrow Simpson ; Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.-P. ; Mr. Broad ; Mrs. Kerr ; Mrs. Oldham ; Dr. Bensly ; Dr. Fryer ; Mr. Previt  ; A Friend ; A Friend ; A Friend ; Mr. John Bush ; Mr. Thomas Blashill, *Hon. Treasurer* ; A Friend ; Mr. J. D. Leader ; Rev. Dr. Russell ; Mr. R. Ferguson ; Miss Russell ; Mr. Arthur Cates, V.-P. ; Mr. Stevens ; Mr. R. H. Wood ; Mr. Peacock ; Rev. Dr. Cresswell ; Mrs. Collier ; Mr. Edward Bush ; Mr. W. Payne ; Mr. Park Harrison ; Mr. Geo. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.* ; Mr. A. Brent ; Mr. W. H. Cope, V.-P. ; Rev. J. Cave-Browne ; Mr. E. Hughes ; Mr. Nathan ; Dr. Russell Forbes ; Mr. Prankerd ; Dr. Phen , V.-P. ; A Friend ; Mr. Hayter Lewis ; Mr. Lawrence ; Dr. Woolcombe ; Mr. E. Lake Walker ; Mrs. Harnett ; Mr. Rayson ; Mr. F. G. Hogg ; Mr. J. H. Wellby ; Mr. W. J. Nichols ; Mr. C. H. Compton, V.-P. ; Mr. Sills ; Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, *Hon. Sec.* ; Mr. Charles Lynam ; Mrs. Lynam ; Dr. Winstone ; Miss Winstone ; Miss G. Winstone ; A Friend.

Dr. Birch, replying in acknowledgment of the presentation, said :—
 “ I have very great pleasure in accepting most gratefully the beautiful testimonial which many of the Vice-Presidents and members of the Archaeological Association have so kindly presented to me, at your lordship’s hands, on this occasion, as a memorial of very pleasing and freely-given services for upwards of twenty-two years, during which time the Society has reposed its trust in me as Secretary, and charged me with the duty of issuing to the world, as its Editor, the varied and apparently endless literary contributions of its votaries. Since the year 1872 I have attended nearly all the Annual Congresses, and there have been few meetings in these rooms for twenty-three years at which I have failed to be present. During this long period it has been a genuine pleasure to study the antiquities of our own and other lands, and to seek to maintain for the British Arch ological Association that honourable and foremost place among antiquarian bodies which this Society—subject only to the paramount position held by the Society of Antiquaries—has ever occupied ; and, having mastered the knowledge of these antiquities, to make it useful to the body of members who compose our ranks. It is a most agreeable feature in this Society that a Congress should be held yearly in some convenient place, and I do not know of any better means of becoming familiar with the by-gone history of our land. Speaking for myself only, I have gone to the north, the south, the east, and the west on these occasions, and I have ever become more and more fascinated with the pursuit of arch ology, and learned to know how little really one knows of the past. At Sheffield in 1873, and Brighton in 1885—to speak of typical Congresses only—we gathered under the presidency of your lordship’s

illustrious relative, the Duke of Norfolk ; at Llangollen, under the late Sir Watkin Wynn ; and at Tenby, in South Wales, under the late Bishop of St. David's. In 1888 we were introduced, under your lordship's presidential direction and tutelary care, to the entrancing glories of the Western Isles ; and at Cardiff again, at a later date (1892), we experienced to the full your great kindness and attention. All these, and many other of our wanderings, have been recorded in no less than twenty-two volumes, which in obedience to the wish of the Association I have edited to the best of my judgment, and I look to the goodly array of volumes with some amount of pardonable pride. But if the Congresses introduced to our notice many things which we should not otherwise have seen, they also have brought us into contact with many persons and many minds, and promoted that sweet converse of soul which goes to make human life a foretaste of the life to come. In this, too, we are greatly the gainers ; and I would say, to the younger members more especially, that there is not any better means of spending a summer week, whether as a mental or bodily recreation, than attending an Archæological Congress. This year again, Wales, the happy hunting-ground of so many antiquaries, calls us with no uncertain voice from beyond the far blue hills of Carnarvonshire to the Island of the Bards, whence those who accompany us will return with brighter light upon and broader knowledge of the past. But to no President may we look with happier eyes than to yourself ; and I congratulate not only myself, as being the humble instrument of the occasion which has presented itself for your revisiting our midst, but the whole Society for the opportunity you have given us of thanking you for coming among us. I fear that, after all, the work I have done has been done imperfectly and inaccurately ; and this makes me diffident whether I really deserve such an honourable recognition of such imperfection as this."

At the evening meeting, Mr. Blashill, Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair, a large collection of rare and beautiful miniatures was exhibited by Mr. B. Nathan, many of which were of historical interest. Amongst the more prominent were a miniature of Lady William Russell, by Englehart ; a miniature of Lady Penelope Fitzgerald, by Plimer ; a miniature of Marie Louise, Princess of Orange ; a box with enamel view of the marriage of Marie Antoinette with the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI ; a circular miniature by Greuze ; a large miniature of Madame Vestris, by Plimer ; a Limoges enamel of the Virgin and Child from the Bohn Collection ; in all there were some thirty-six exhibits.

A paper was read by Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, in the absence of the

author, Mr. T. Cann-Hughes, on "Notes from North Lancashire", in which the ancient charters of Lancaster and the Borough seals were described; the fairs which were formerly held there, and other local customs, some of which were now obsolete, were related. The earliest existent document is that of John, Earl of Mortain, dated 1193. The Mayor's seal of the borough is believed to be of the reign of Henry IV or V, and bears in its centre three towers, each triple-turreted, with a lion passant guardant, crowned, and a fleur-de-lis. The ancient stocks of the town are preserved at the Town Clerk's Office, together with an interesting series of ale and spirit measures which are said to have been made from guns captured from the Spanish Armada.

There are very many ancient doorheads in and about Lancaster, some of them having curious designs of fish and other emblems.

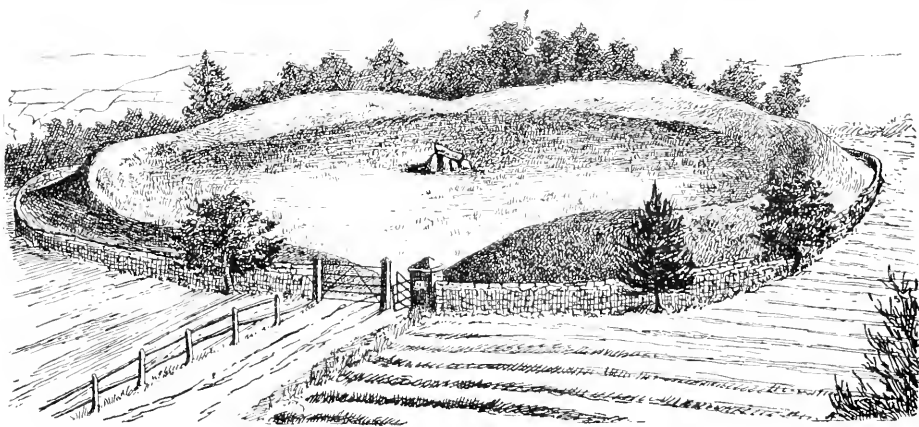
The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., the newly-appointed Hon. Sec. and Editor, was introduced to the meeting and commenced his duties.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Dolmens of Ireland, their distribution, structural characteristics, and affinities in other countries ; together with the folk-lore attaching to them ; supplemented by considerations on the anthropology, ethnology, and traditions of the Irish people. With four maps and eight hundred illustrations, including two coloured plates. By WILLIAM COPELAND



Ballynahatty, "The Giant's Ring". (Etched from a photograph.)

BORLASE, M.A., late President of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of London, author of *Nenia Cornubiæ*, etc. Three vols. (London : Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1897).—We have set out this very long title-page in full, abridging only the list of the author's works, because it tells its own story of the contents and scope of this very important work. What the title-page omits the preface supplies, and some of that is an absolutely unnecessary apology or explanation of Mr. Borlase's qualifications for giving to the world the result of more than ten years of the careful research of a highly-trained antiquary. Part of the book is not for ordinary reading. It is a book of reference of a very valuable kind ; a complete survey, classified under provinces and

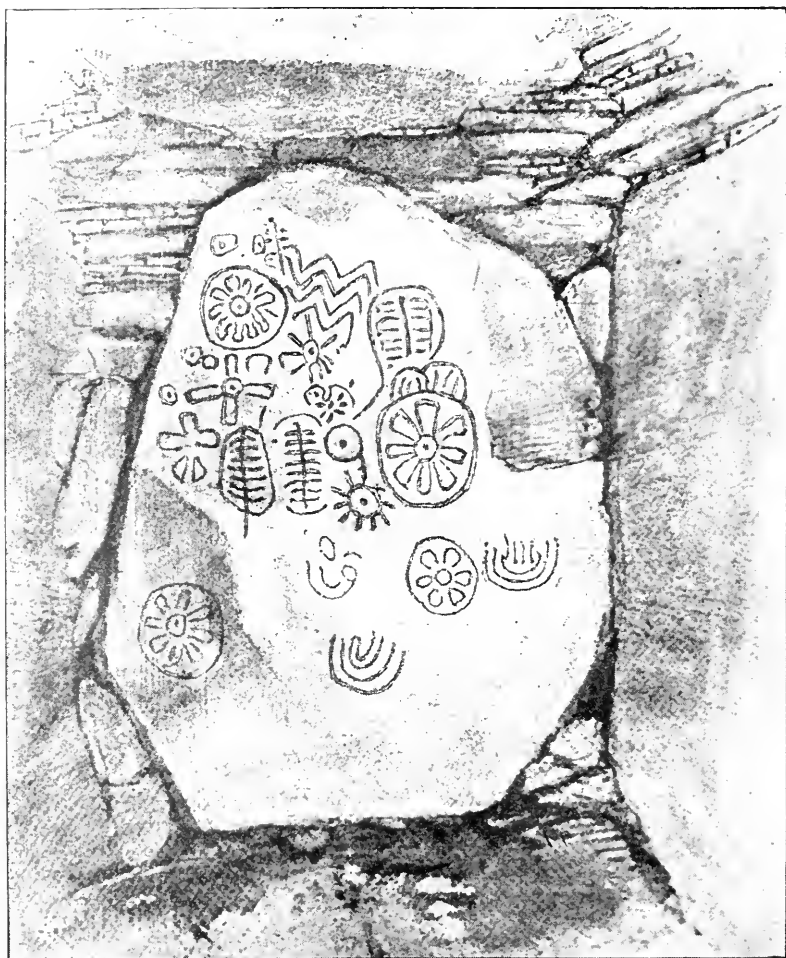
counties, of all the dolmens or cromlechs of Ireland. There are no theories here, all is hard fact, measurement and statistics, and about half of the eight hundred pictures belong to these four hundred pages. The whole number of dolmens included in the catalogue amounts to 780, besides 50 "chambered tumuli", and 68 which the author describes as "uncertain". The great majority of these have been surveyed, measured, and in many cases sketched, by Mr. Borlase himself, who had practised the art from his early youth among the cromlechs of his



The Cat-stone at Ushnagh. (*From a sketch by Mr. W. C. Borlase.*)

native Cornwall. Following the Irish catalogues comes a part of the book which is to some extent theoretical: the comparisons of these dolmens with those of other lands. This would require a very long description to do it justice; suffice it here to say that the author travels over most of Europe and parts of Syria and India, not according to ordinary geography alone, but by a well-worked plan of trade and migration routes, which introduces the reader at last to the rather startling and very revolutionary theories of the end. These theories, put forward perhaps unduly humbly and tentatively, may or may not be true; but

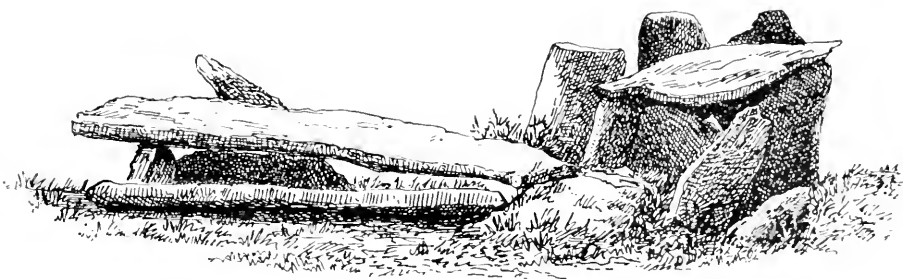
be they as false as possible they in no wise detract from the value of the collections of facts on which they are based. Indeed, so little does one suspect Mr. Borlase of "faking" his facts to suit his theories, that one cannot help seeing throughout that his conclusions were forced



Stone in a Cairn on Slieve na Callighe.

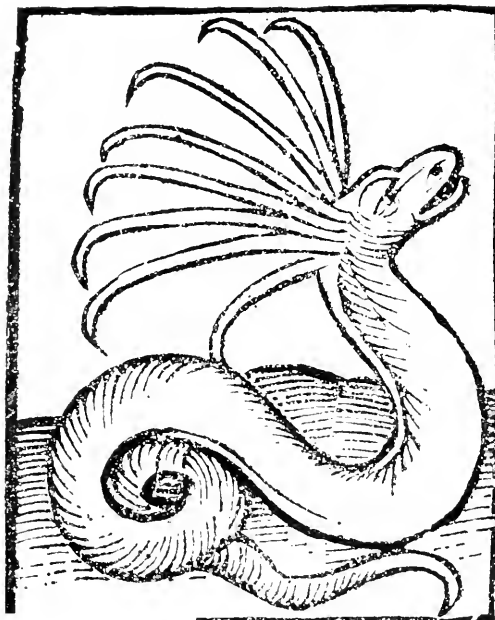
upon him by his facts during the process of investigation. Hence, what in many cases would certainly be dismissed as a craze of a mere crank, must here be treated as the serious utterance of a man who knows what he is talking about, and may very likely be quite right: though if he is, a great many other people have been quite wrong

To put an important part of the theory shortly, it is this : the legends of Partholan, Nemed, the Fomorians, the Tuath De Danann, and the Fir Bolg are not all rubbish. On the contrary, they contain a vast amount of actual fact; only, instead of happening about the time of Noah's Flood, they happened at and refer to the time of that other and later deluge, the irruption of the barbarians into the Roman Empire in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Moreover, Partholan is Bardoland, an eponym of the Langobardi, Nemed or Nemech is Njemitz, a Slavonic name for the Germans; the Fomorians are the Pomorian Slaves, the Fir Bolg are the Bulgarians, and the events as recorded in the early Irish histories really happened, many of them actually in the various foreign countries to which the stories ascribe them, though others located by the chronicles in Ireland have been transferred from abroad. Among the best of these instances are the



†Ardlaragh. (From a sketch by Mr. W. C. Borlase.)

great sagas of Golanb, or Miles, or Nial (for the three are identical). These heroes, really the same under three names, shortly after the dispersion of Babel, go through a variety of adventures too long to record here, in the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas, either starting from or ending up in Spain. Now Nial was son of Fenius Farsa, which was the son of Baath, hence he would be in Irish *Nial na Baath* or *Nial O' Baath*. Is it a mere coincidence, with no significance, that Georgius Syncellus and Zosimus should record adventures almost identical with those of Nial as happening to certain barbarians, whom the one calls *Heruli* and the other *Seythes*, in exactly the same places in the time of the Emperor Gallienus? Does it mean nothing that their leader was one *Naulobatus*? This is perhaps the strongest coincidence, name and all; but the last part of the book is full of striking instances of similarities of the same sort; while the measurements of skulls and comparison of personal appearances, as well as the chain of dolmens along lines of migrations, seem to show at any rate *prima facie*



The Serpent.

evidence in favour of Mr. Borlase's conclusions as to the origin of a part of the Irish nation. The theories are not completely worked out — another book would be wanted for that—but Mr. Borlase has done something more than indicate the direction which future research may take, with a very good prospect of coming to something of importance.

Natural History in Shakespeare's Time; being extracts illustrative of the subject as he knew

it. By H. W. SEAGER, M.B. (London: Stock). This is a really charming work, not for novelty's sake—for it does not propose to be more than a collection of extracts—but because it contains so many delightful stories and traditions of the real and imaginary inhabitants of the woods and lands and waters which Shakespeare was familiar with, as is shown by the frequent allusions to them in his works. There had been always, from classical days, a manual of natural his-

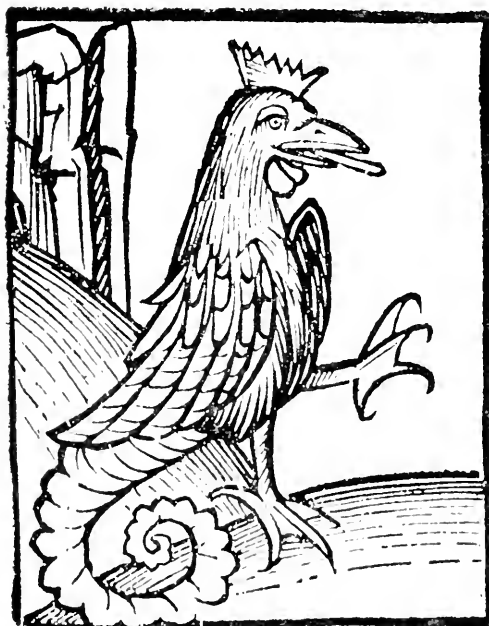


The Unicorn.

tory available to the enquirer. In the Anglo-Saxon and mediæval times there was the *Bestiarium*, a collection of more or less veracious anecdotes about types of familiar animals and imaginary monsters. As time went on, some of the earliest printed books dealt with the zoology of the world; and at the beginning of the seventeenth century there was quite a literature of the subject, from which Mr. Seager has culled the choicest notes and gathered up the



Sheep.



The Cockatrice.

quaintest illustrations, a few of which we have, with permission, reproduced to show the character of the illustration. One of them, the unicorn, is of special interest, for he "is so strong that he is not taken with might of hunters, but a maid is set there as he shall come, and she openeth her lap, and the unicorn layeth thereon his head, and leaueth all his fierceness and sleepeth in that wise, and is taken as a beast without weapon and slain with darts of hunters". All

Mr. Seager's quotations are from works which were standard authorities in Shakespeare's time, and a goodly list of them is given ; they are all worthy of being reprinted *in extenso*, and would delight a Society formed for that purpose ; although perhaps the *Ibis*, and the magazines devoted to critical modern description of the animal and vegetable world, would be scandalised at the very thought. Much of the lore that was current at the period covered by this work is still current in the remoter districts of Britain, and finds a place among the unwritten traditions which are handed down by the rustic and the half-educated inhabitants of our country ; much of it is illustrated by objects of antiquity, such as carvings, illuminated MSS., and forms of ancient objects which are often laid upon our table at many meetings. It is pleasant to read through the pages of this remarkable collection of popular lore, much of which, of course, is incorrect and misleading ; but much, at the same time, illustrates the ancient method of investigation which has its modern outcome in so many philosophical societies. It is a fascinating branch of archæology, and Mr. Seager has enabled us to revel in it.

The House of Cromwell : a Genealogical History of the Descendants of the Protector, including some account of the Cromwells of America. By JAMES WAYLEN. New Edition by REV. J. G. CROMWELL, M.A., Hon. Canon of Durham (London : Stock). Not long ago we had occasion to notice the *Numismata Cromwelliana*, written by a promising member of this Association, Mr. Henfrey, whose untimely death robbed the members of an ardent student who would have occupied a high place among the roll of British antiquaries. The book before us now deals with the families descended from Oliver Cromwell, thus carrying on a work begun by Noble in 1787. Information and anecdotes have been gathered together by diligence of research, and much that is new to many readers will be found in the pages of this treatise. Seventy or eighty modern families of repute appear to be connected in one way or another with that of Cromwell, and for this account it is worthy of consultation even by those who have no special admiration for the life and character of the usurper ; and the chapters dealing with the relics and portraits should be studied by all who take an interest in collecting souvenirs, such as letters, coins, and medals, illustrating the career of one whom Gray has immortalised to infamy in a line of delicate irony. The members of the Cromwell stock are, we are told, still numerous in North America, and Americans who are justly pleased when they can find a genealogical link to bring them in contact with the great families of Britain, cannot fail to add this book to their collections with much advantage.



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KENT IN THE LAMBETH ARCHIVES.

BY S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read at the London Congress, 1896).



THE title of your Congress, "London and Home Counties", permits me to compile what may be called a digressive paper, which otherwise should treat strictly of London archaeology.

In the visit to Lambeth Palace (for which I much regret my absence), I could hardly have directed your attention to other than general descriptions; so that I trust this brief sketch of a particular subject may not be unworthy of your patience, or of the honour awarded me by its inclusion in your programme. There are several considerations which might determine that Kent should take a part in this Conference. Canterbury, its metropolis, was the ancient capital almost before the fame of London went forth. "From that first English city", says Dean Stanley, "from Kent, the first English Christian kingdom, has by degrees arisen the whole constitution of Church and State in England, which now binds together the whole British Empire."

To the two ecclesiastical centres, Canterbury and Rochester, mediæval learning had directed its agencies, and so we find these cities rich in monastic and civic lore gathered from many a remote age. St. Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury, as well as Christ Church, were for ages the repositories of learning, and the monkish chroniclers and writers who were associated with these foundations, will always hold their place in history.

The labours of Gervase, Eadmer, Thomas of Elmham (Treasurer of St. Augustine's), have enriched the muniments which are preserved at Canterbury, as well as other Kentish MSS. in our National and University libraries. It is not wonderful then that Lambeth, the early home of the archiepiscopate, should have gathered together valuable archives, which, with those of Canterbury and Rochester, throw great light on church and secular history in past time. The Lambeth series consist of records (properly so called) and MSS. of a varied character, in all about two thousand volumes.

The first rank must be given to the *Registers of the See*, dating from the time of Archbishop Peckham, 1279, and in regular succession almost to this day. Some sixty volumes, generally embellished with the arms of each prelate, and written in a good hand, became, as it were, the great "Day Book" of each archbishop. For, in the Middle ages, the account of all that occurred during the Primacy was carried about from place to place, where the archbishops stayed at one or other of their manors or houses in the diocese. Thus we find documents dated from Maidstone, Otford, Lyminge, Charing, Croydon, Mayfield, and other towns.

These registers, besides containing reports of episcopal consecrations, ordinations, institutions, and other official acts, include a vast series of mediæval wills, which are of the highest use to the local antiquary. These wills commence in 1279 and continue till about 1644, and are replete with particulars as to family property, bequests to churches, and other matters. An index to the wills and administrations has been printed in the *Genealogist*, 1883, and many noted persons in ecclesiastical, local, or historical rank find a place in this index. From the

multitude of names I may select a few of the most typical, viz. :—

Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, 1387.

Robert Chicheley, citizen of London, 1439.

R. Fitzhugh, Bishop of London, 1448.

John Gower, the poet, buried in St. Mary Overie (St. Saviour's, Southwark), 1408.

Roger Walden, Bishop of London, 1405.

Also several city rectors and church dignitaries of all parts of England. As the "indexes" of so many county wills have been published, the Lambeth collection will always form a valuable aid to local historians.

Another class of documents in which Kentish lore is prominent is the *Charta Antiqua*, in thirteen volumes, varying in date from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, of a miscellaneous nature, but occasionally of great importance. Some of these manuscripts are well written, having seals or large initial letters. Their contents are very varied, but many relate to lands and manors in Kent, claims of property and other possessions of the See of Canterbury.

Exchanges of land between the archbishops and the Crown form a considerable item, and here I would especially note the deed of exchange of the manor of Lambeth with that of Darenth in Kent, by the Bishop of Rochester in 1197. It is curious that only the counterpart exists here, the other half being with the Chapter of Rochester. The two documents were exhibited together at the Society of Antiquaries, when a paper read by Mr. St. John Hope, F.S.A., on their respective merits, was printed in the *Proceedings* of that Society (1892). In these *Charta*, references also occur to the archbishop's manors of Wimbledon, Bekesbourne, Chislet, Knole, Maidstone, Saltwood, etc. There are also matters relating to visitations, the legal courts of the archbishops, subsidies of the clergy, taxations, etc.

Local topography is illustrated in many ways: we find an order for the repair of the sea walls in Romney Marsh, also for the care of woods in Kent belonging to the archbishops, for which a regular custodian was appointed.

A propos of this London Congress, I must mention

that vol. vii of the *Chartæ* describes the state and value of several London parishes in 1635, according to an inquiry instituted by Bishop Juxon and others, to which the answers are given.

No less than one hundred and fifteen city parishes are included, many of their churches long ago perished in the Great Fire, so that this account is of unusual importance. Volume iii also refers to London livings, tithes and clergy, but is of an earlier date.

There are also scattered references to London in other volumes of these *Chartæ*, but the two mentioned are specially devoted to civic annals.

As a supplement to the *Chartæ Antiquæ*, I may mention three volumes of *Commonwealth Surveys relating to the See of Canterbury and its Peculiars*.

The position of Kent between the metropolis and the continent rendered it liable to rigid inspection on the part of the government, and during the Civil war this would have been increased. The late Canon Jenkins, whose scholarly history of the diocese is well known, remarks that "the vast extent of the estates of the Church in Kent, and the fact that all those churches were surrendered to the Crown, and passed into the hands of the greater nobility, was one of the causes, with others, which marked a great movement in the county".

Surveys of the livings and manors at such times are of untold worth to the historian of this period, and in these volumes he would find the extent, acreage, value, etc., with the incumbents' names clearly set forth. Of the greater manors "surveyed" in Kent are Chislet and Canterbury, besides several "granges", especially those in the "Isle of Thanet", once belonging to St. Augustine's.

Among monastic records there are many of varied interest; some, copies and a little fragmentary—chiefly relating to religious houses at Canterbury, Dover, Faversham and Maidstone. One MS. (No. 241) calls prominently for notice, being a register of Dover Priory for the year 1372, a folio of two hundred and sixty-four pages in a well-written hand.

The priory church of St. Martin must have been one of

the finest in the county; on the suppression of the monasteries, the materials were given for the repair of the town walls and gates. This Society, on their visit to Dover in 1883, will have remembered some of the ancient buildings which now form part of the Dover College property. The "restored" refectory, with the remains of a painting of the Last Supper at the east end, and the enriched doorway, after the pattern of the fine examples at Barfreston, St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, will not have been forgotten by our members.

The seal of the priory (St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar) is too well known to describe, but is of interest as connected with this structure.

A fly-leaf at the beginning of the MS. contains a letter from John Parker (son of the Archbishop), dated 1598, addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, asking him to recover the MS. for the use of his successors, as it appears to have been useful in many claims of land that Dover Priory held with former archbishops.

Connected with this subject we can name the hospitals and Bede-houses, wherein St. John's Hospital, Canterbury, and Harbledown, are fully treated in the Lambeth archives.

In MSS. 1131, 1132, 1169 are transcripts of charters, deeds, etc., belonging to St. Nicholas, Harbledown, which was sometimes called *Hospitale de bosco de Bleau*, for its site near the great forest of Bleau, which extended far and wide in olden times.

Apart from dry chronicles which throw light on the government of this ancient house, Harbledown will ever live in history as we recall the array of pilgrims who passed that last stage on their way to the "Martyr's Shrine" at Canterbury, and of whom perhaps one of the most noted, Erasmus, with Colet, were met by one of the old almsmen, and assailed with a shower of holy water and asked to kiss the "shoe of St. Thomas".

The old lazar-house founded by Archbishop Lanfranc still remains, in part, near the Hospital, which was rebuilt in 1670 by Archbishop Sheldon. The statutes were revised by several of the archbishops, and all the records are carefully preserved in a strong chest at the Hospital.

Of the College or Hospital at Maidstone, founded by Archbishop Boniface in 1260 for the reception of poor travellers, and incorporated in 1395 by Archbishop Courteney with his new College of secular Priests, there are some documents here concerning its constitution. Of Cobham College, near Rochester, and of the lesser houses, there are particulars more or less exhaustive.

Of copies of "Cathedral Statutes", that of Canterbury, drawn up in 1634 (MS. 728), having the autograph of Charles I on the second page, is preserved here, and is of special interest. The value of lands, manors, and "granges" in the county is comprised in many isolated papers, some copies and others original, chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Specially calling for notice is a document of the year 1647, entitled: "The Present Value and Improvements of all the Manors, Farms, Granges, Rents belonging to the Sees of Canterbury and Rochester."

In Thanet we find mention of several "granges" or monastic farms, attached to St. Augustine's, Canterbury; and of these Salmeston and Calais granges are noted examples, as well as displaying picturesque features, being of flint and plaster work, with diaper and rosette ornament, fully described by the late Canon Scott-Robertson in "Kentish Archæology" (1878), also briefly noted in my paper: "A Forgotten Island", 1894.

The miscellaneous MSS. in which Kent is mentioned include several items of value, such as essays on the prerogatives of the Archbishops, orders and statutes of their households, dilapidations at Lambeth and Croydon, and other matters.

Under this clause, the name of the Rev. G. Lewis, vicar of Minster and Margate in 1736, and author of the *History of Thanet*, is conspicuous.

Mr. Lewis's *Kentish Collections* were presented by him to this library, and play no unimportant part in diocesan annals.

Some few heraldic manuscripts touch on Kent, especially No. 300, dated 1593, and being the "Arms in colors by the Lords, Knights and gentlemen of

Kent", and another MS. (No. 312), "Arms of towns and pedigrees of Kentish families by Lord Burleigh", whose genealogical notes are also well known in many of the British Museum volumes.

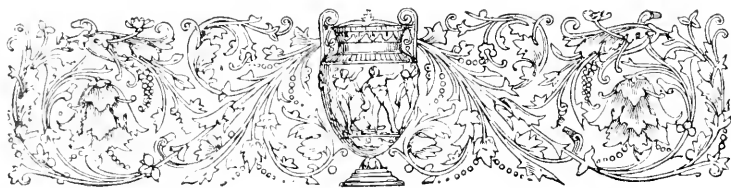
This slight "survey" of "Kent in the Lambeth archives" is but an outline of what a longer essay could have produced.

The printed catalogue of the MSS. compiled by the Rev. G. H. Todd in 1812 gives an idea of the strength of this branch of the collection, to which an increasing series of prints and drawings of Kentish buildings may also be mentioned.

The fact that several of the Archbishops had been Bishops of London, and their care for this famous collection, especially Dr. Bancroft, Laud, Juxon, Tenison, Howley and Tait, has added another link to the association which has always existed between London and Canterbury. To this may be added the name of Bishop Gibson (London), who was Librarian, and compiled an early catalogue of the printed books.

Searches are being more and more made into parish and county history, by the recent aid of the Historical MSS. Commission and State Papers. I trust that these "side-lights" of Kentish lore may be a fitting adjunct to those historical visits in the county which your Association has so happily linked with the attractions of Old London.





“OLD LONDON” IN PRE-ROMAN TIMES.

Its Italian and Greek Colonists ; also in Caesar's time—his fording the Thames at Chelsea. Discovery of the beautiful Roman Pagan Temple at Westminster.

BY J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.I.B.A.

(Continued from p. 102.)



IT is a point of difficulty with many persons, even as to the *great* roads of commerce in Britain having been pre-Roman. But not only do many facts attest this, such as the corresponding pre-Roman roads in Gaul, which communicated with the ports opposite the ports of Britain, to supply which ports with merchandise, on either side of the Channel roads were necessary ; but it is clear that the commerce supporting such fleets of ships as traded on the Rhine and the Seine, the Loire, and other rivers, must have been supplied by roads well made and well kept. That the traffic on the Rhine and the Rhône was one with Italy is proved from Caesar opening, through his lieutenant, Galba, the formidable toll-houses in the Alps, “through which the merchants trading with Rome had been accustomed to travel”, as he states, “with great danger and under great imposts” ; showing that roads lay entirely through Europe for the conveyance of valuable articles of commerce, paying great tolls, and that, therefore, such an emporium as the City on the Thames could not be excepted.

By this opening of the Alpine toll and custom-houses, FREE TRADE for British commerce was established with Rome by Caesar. At what period the slave trade between

Britain and Rome commenced is unknown. But it is a memorable fact that the later Christianisation of England, as distinct from Britain, arose through the exhibition of English slaves in the slave market at Rome.

The question as to whether such *great highways* existed in pre-Roman Britain would surely be proved if it could be shown that the still traceable *side roads* and *junctions*, which are found in communication with such main roads, existed in pre-Roman times: and this is proved by Caesar's own statement, made from his personal experience, when he describes what resulted after the battle at the ford on the Thames. In short, that the forces both of his own legions and those of Cassivellaunus used these roads. Thus, when the Roman soldiers marched on them, the British King withdrew his forces into the woods through which the roads ran, and when the Roman soldiers were securing or destroying the crops and cattle in the cultivated parts, Cassivellaunus used to send out chariots from the woods by *all the well-known roads and paths*, and this so effectively, that the Roman foragers had to be withdrawn, and were prohibited from straying far from the roads on which they marched.

Here are described at once the *highways* for marching, the *bye-ways communicating with such highways*, and the—as we should express it—*bridle-paths* through the woods. That they were no impromptu ways, cut in the woods under pressure of the Roman invasion, is shown from the statement: "all the WELL-KNOWN roads and paths"—"*omnibus viis notis semitisque.*"

This appears proof that such roads then existed, and after one more example of ancient Greek customs in pre-Roman Britain, the names connected with such roads may fairly be looked for in Greek words. From my own surveys I am able to show that the great pre-Roman roads in this country, many of which I have defined in the maps now exhibited, can be followed by their lateral tumuli of native construction, to say nothing of the place-names along them.

While on the subject of Greek letters, it may be well to examine one of the points dwelt on by historians as evidence of the barbarity of the inhabitants of Britain.

Caesar asserts¹ that they use, as is generally translated, “rings of brass or iron of certain weights, as money”; but we find the Iceni with a gold coinage—of course restricted to the nobles—and *we* still use *round pieces* of *brass* or *bronze* for the common people, and similar shaped “ring” money to that in our museums is still used by the Berber tribes. Tacitus states that GOLD and SILVER were *produced in Britain*; and though not now so prolific, yet both are still obtained here, and the rich golden Keltic and pre-Keltic work in our museums supports the use of the more precious metals.

But even on the subject of the “rings of brass or iron”. The word used is “*taleis*”. *Talea* meant a piece of wood shaped like a spike, and “*taleis ferreis*” would mean iron spikes.

The more ancient Greeks used the *οβολος*, or *οβελος*, which in early times was described as a small spit or spike like a large nail, and was used as *money*: six of these made a *δραχμη* (drachma or handful), so that their size is easily arrived at; and this description really amounts to this: that besides ring money ancient Greek money was used in Britain.

Working this subject out for the present Paper has led me to understand an expression used to me in Scotland by an old Highland woman, on my discovering and excavating a large subterranean chamber. Notwithstanding her gravity and respectful manner, I could only think she was speaking in contempt or irony, when she said, as I was descending into the chamber: “You will find a coffin with silver (sil’er) nails.” The old form of money has evidently not been forgotten. It appears that when the shape of the money was changed, the old names, whether in Latin or Greek, remained unaltered.

But the *οβολος* or *οβελος* (obolus) merely indicates the shape of this ancient form of Greek money, and the drachma, or handful its size; the nature of the material would be indicated by the word for that material, as “*ferreis*,” for iron. It is noticeable that iron money was alone permitted by Lycurgus to be used in Sparta.

The Spartans were, *par excellence*, warriors, and it has

¹ B. v. ch. xii, *De Bello Gallico*.

been assumed that the intention of Lycurgus was to prevent the influx of Oriental luxury into Lacedaemon, by the restriction to iron money. There is, however, another view of the case, not hitherto touched. The Greeks fought in armour; and as their encounters of one day were renewed on the next, whether in single combat or in bodies, the most valuable article that they could possess would be one by which their armour could be speedily repaired. The bruised coats of mail could be hammered into shape again. Iron or bronze spikes, capable of being drawn or hammered to any required size, would immediately restore such riveted armour; and as the Greeks and Orientals generally, as well then as now, were expert smiths, the armour-bearer, or even the warrior himself, could by such means restore the armour at once. In travelling in many parts of Greece, Asia Minor, Iceland, etc., I have found the natives so expert as smiths, and smithies so frequent, that the loss of a horse-shoe has been a matter of indifference, so soon has a new one been provided. In the sense of these *οβόλοι* or spikes being so used, and that there must have been means at hand to restore the armour rivets is apparent, the purpose of Lycurgus would have a double, if not a superior, object to that generally assumed. In this sense it is highly probable that the iron *obolos* or spike was not originally meant for money at all, but that its value became more intensified from its use to the extent of its passing current in exchange, as suits of armour themselves did; and that the iron money was not originally made in that form, but that the spike became current as money from its usefulness in the heroic ages. It takes the subject back to a very remote time of intercourse between Britain and Greece.

In Britain its form and value may also have been special. Bronze and iron then were metals of great value still for armour, and the commodious way of passing such as merchandise is apparent: still more so as a form for gold and silver and tin, small ingots, in short, to escape the vigilance of those imposers of heavy toll duties, the destruction of whom Caesar saw necessary to ensure a free trade for Rome.

The use of this old form of money, or rather current value, synchronises also in date with the evidently Greek chariots of war which Caesar found in use in Britain, and the nature of which must in itself have entailed the need for good and level roads. The Greeks and Persians evidently made roads for their chariots, so that with the introduction of the Greek chariot, Greek road-making must have been a consequence.

In examples of Greek paintings on vases at Vienna, chariots drawn by two, three, and four horses are depicted : a proof that good roads existed in early times in Greece.

The sacred ways, as that from Delphi to Tempe, were kept up with great care ; and though, no doubt, such chariots were used for religious processions and State purposes, yet that rather increases the certainty of good roads being made for such ceremonials.

The great length of the sacred way from Delphi to Tempe, which Apollo—who would be nothing without his chariot—had to traverse to be purified after slaying the Python, a custom which was retained to much later times to perpetuate the memory of that event, by the journies over the same road of his representatives—boys crowned with gold and bearing branches of laurel, conveying it as trophies from the festival of the Daphnephoria, held in honour of the event, and which road was along the course, after crossing the Oeta and the Othrys ranges, of the elevated highway from Pelion and Ossa towards Olympos, and which sacred way I followed after my descent from Parnassus and Helicon on my way to Thebes, attests also that these sacred ways were not for mere urban sight shows ; while Caesar’s statement that the secondary, and even the tertiary, roads in Britain were used for chariots, shows that Britain was not behind Greece in this respect.

The question of the district of which London is the centre being occupied by the Trinobantes no one has disputed. But who were they ?

In my Paper read at Stoke-upon-Trent, it will be seen that the Iceni—or more correctly Ic-eni, as retained in the name of their great pre-Roman road, the Ic-nield

Way — derived their name from their occupation as carriers of merchandise, from the Greek word *ichnos* (*ichnos*), a way, etc., from which Ic-nield almost follows.

The name Trinobantes is equally apparent, if the roads running through the district are examined. Watling Street and Ermine Street still exist, as communications from south to north and from east to west of England, having junctions with other great roads, as the Foss Way, etc.

But the great east and west road, running through the Metropolis of the Trinobantes, now the Metropolis of England, as it seems then to have been of Britain, clearly a part of the Ic-nield Way, had a tributary on the north side of the Thames, as Ermine Street had on the south side; and after passing through the northern city went to Old Sarum and Avebury. This was a most honoured way. Along it on each side were the tumuli of the earlier people, and later on the impressive tombs of the Roman citizens.

A glance at the map of the pre-Roman roads will show how these commercial people, the Ic-eni, utilised every inlet and the mouth of every stream on the northern coast of the Thames estuary as harbours for their ships of commerce; retaining, no doubt, many things from the Port of London to warehouse them in their own Ic-enine capital, Camulodunum, probably both to avoid London dues and duties and to monopolise the sale themselves.

Many of the tumuli still exist, while the sculptured cenotaphs and magnificent architectural tombs, as still seen in grandeur in the great way from Nimes, have, like those they memorialised, passed away.

Such at least is the general impression, but like others already referred to it is erroneous, for in bastions, evidently erected in a moment of defensive alarm, which bastions flanked this old Ic-nield way, were found, as material hastily built in, these very sarcophagi which had bounded at least that part of the way within or without the gate of the city through which this—in many of its parts—sacred way passed, to the great point of exchange for merchandise, Stonehenge, and the sacred

and inviolable *temenos* of Britain, Avebury; and in your grand museum at Guild Hall the sarcophagi built by the later people into the bastions guarding the Ic-nield Way exhibit a magnificence telling of the wealth of the citizens of Augusta: a name, in my opinion, attaching only to the northern and fortified city, which commenced its Roman institutions by Caesar planting his standard there, while Londinium was continued as the name of the city in Kent.

Three grand and still-known roads, then, are unquestionable, which disposes of the first syllable “Trin”, and βαῦω, to go, walk, or step on the ground, as along a road or way, meets the second syllable “ban”. The actual word, “ban”, is the participle of the second aorist of βαῦω. The termination “tes” was common to many tribes; the intermediate “o” may be an abbreviated form of the article οἱ, as in the sentence οἱ ἐν τέλει βεβώτες, in which the meaning, they who, is the form. Thus—They who traversed the three roads, *i.e.*, the itinerant merchants of the three roads, or the *goers*, wayfarers, travellers along the *three* ways. Very close to the meaning of the Ic-eni; and not a tribal name in either case, but a name indicative of localised occupation, applicable in each case to pedlars or travelling merchants, and so purely Oriental; with a localisation still retained in Oriental towns, by the Goldsmith’s quarter, and so for other trades, and retained by us in Long Acre, a part of the Ic-nield way, Old Jewry, Bread Street, Milk Street, Pedlar’s Acre, etc.

If these derivations are tenable, and they seem reasonably so, as describing what was a daily custom, we may return to the ford on the Thames.

There appears at first sight an insuperable difficulty about the ford being at Chelsea, namely, that the area of water north and south of the Thames in those days was as great or greater than at London. But investigation removes this difficulty. Caesar had so lately returned from the country of the Veneti, a land of *fords at low tides*, of causeways, and methods of crossing water under difficulties, which difficulties were intensified by the Veneti to obstruct the Roman army, that

such matters were things to be gallantly overcome rather than avoided by him.

From the rising land at Clapham he would survey the lake, and as he had become accustomed to such difficulties would look for the native means of crossing it. That such means existed there can be no doubt, in face of the close alliance between, and the succour given from Britain to Western Gaul. This spot would enable his scouts to watch the river from Fulham to Westminster to guard against hostile ships, at a place probably fortified as the *most likely* spot for his crossing.

That causeways, such as were customary and are still used in the Nile inundations in Egypt, in Brittany, the Euphrates Valley, etc., one of which, of purely Oriental construction, still exists by the Ouse near Wisbeach, with equally significant terminal names, and several of which I have found in Scotland and Ireland, and which, within my own recollection, were in use across the five fields at Pimlico—now Belgravia—would be used by the natives to get access to the ford to cross the Thames, is apparent.

In my Papers read at Oxford and at Leeds to the British Association in 1890, to the Royal Society of Literature in 1891-6, the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, etc., I showed that a large area in the south of England was occupied with Graeco-Italian place-names.

The number of remains found at and near the ford of Chelsea indicate strongly that Battersea was the place of passage. They consisted of swords, sheaths, daggers, spear-heads; in 1856 a large number of human crania of two types were found, with bronze and iron weapons and other relics. Weapons described as undoubtedly British—the descriptions being given—were lying with others undoubtedly Roman. The crania are described as of the long oval shape, technically dolicho-cephalic, mixed with others of a broader and higher form, something superior to the brachi-cephalic, and hence reasonably assumed to be Roman. I have myself dug up, on my estate at Chelsea, such a cranium, apparently Roman. Those found in the bed of the river were a deep ebony black, from long burial in the mud.

A “British” *claddyc* or leaf-shaped sword, a beautifully finished *ysgwyd* or Keltic shield now in the British Museum, a *caliga* or Roman shoe—many such relics were found scattered as far north as *Kensington*; and with casual finds on the Surrey side and near the Wandle, the matter of the Roman fording at this place seems well attested.

It would be absurd to suppose that the Romans retreated from and at once re-forded the Thames crossed so successfully, and if not, Caesar would then have been on the north side. This appears the more probable, as the Trinobantes, in whose territory he would then be, immediately surrendered their capital, requesting a Roman ruler.

This was granted (Bv. chs. xx-xxi), and they were protected as well from Cassivellaunus as from any violence of the soldiers (the Roman soldiers seem to be here clearly meant). Immediately on this, *five neighbouring States surrendered* to Caesar, which would hardly have been the case had he not been on their frontiers, if not indeed in the capital he was protecting; for he was not far from the capital town of Cassivellaunus, as the leaders of these surrendered States informed him, which town he then attacked successfully.

It is clear that Cassivellaunus was in what Caesar describes as his own territory on the north side of the Thames, as he sent to Kent on the south side, ordering his allies there to assail the Roman naval station as a diversion, hoping to draw Caesar from his—Cassivellaunus’s—own territory. In this case, Caesar must not only have seen the north city of London as well as the south city, but it must have been in the north city that the first permanent Roman camp or citadel for its protection was established. It was not necessary on Caesar’s withdrawal to leave a ruler or a garrison, after the surrender of all the surrounding States, and of the prime general, Cassivellaunus.

It is remarkable and very interesting to note that Caesar’s comparison of the maritime States south of the Thames with other districts on the north side of the river, and his statement as to the multitudes of closely-

packed buildings, and the innumerable inhabitants of the cities, were both described in the account of his *second invasion* and from his personal observation.

As the capital of the Trinobantes, north London was not only voluntarily surrendered, but surrendered on the condition that a Roman ruler—of course with a garrison—should protect the city; the wooden houses would not in that case have been delivered to the flames, according to the custom of those days, as in the case of Lutetia on the Seine; so that Caesar's description may be taken to apply to London itself, as it would have remained intact. But the public buildings, which appear clearly meant by “*aedificia*,” judging from the great size of the blocks of sculptured stone found by Mr. Roach Smith as the very *foundation-stones* of the old Roman river wall, indicate that, apart from the wooden dwellings noble structures abounded (“*creberrima*”), and it was probably to preserve this ornate capital that Roman occupation was sought and made conditional.

So much for pre-Roman London. But Londinium or “*Augusta*” was the London of the Romans.

A popular writer, who, like Strabo, can believe nothing he has not seen, says of “*Augusta*,” that no remains exist of it. Not many in our museums, it is true, but what are there are impressively grand; but remains do exist, though not now attainable. But the popular author redeemed his assertion by the statement:—

“Yet London is not alone in having no monuments of this period” (about 1100 to 1700 A.D.), *i.e.*, between the two great fires.

“If we take any other town, what remains in it of the years 600 to 1000 A.D.? What is left in Rome to mark the reigns of the 80 Popes who fill that period? What in Paris, to illustrate the rule of the Carlovingians? Fire and the piety of successive generations have destroyed all the buildings.”

Yes, but those of Rome are built into the more modern churches.

Mr. Roach Smith states, from personal survey, aided by able coadjutors, that when the *foundations* of the ancient Roman wall of London which bordered the river were laid open to his inspection, they were found to be “*almost wholly composed of materials used in buildings*”

which were anterior to the period when the wall was built”. “The stones,” he writes, “of which this wall was constructed were portions of columns, friezes, cornices, and also former foundation stones. From their magnitude, character and number, they gave an important and interesting insight into the obscure history of Roman London, in showing the architectural changes that had taken place in it.” From this it may be inferred either that they were the remains of more than one city, or, if only one, that styles of architecture were varied in elegance and design. Caesar’s expression “*aedificia*” clearly refers to superior edifices or public buildings, civil or religious; and as Italian colonies can be shown to have been located in Britain before his time, and intercourse with Rome must have existed, Italian art also would be practised. It is therefore quite probable that these enriched architectural works used as the very foundation stones of the first and only Roman wall guarding “*Augusta*” on the Thames side, were remains of the actual edifices (“*aedificia*”) seen and so described by Caesar; and that the former Pagan sculptured edifices were the quarries whence the settled—perhaps Christianized—Romans drew materials to construct their city walls.

But Roman London, then as now, had its western suburb, for there is an account of a temple at Westminster (see *Cottonian MSS.* in British Museum), a part of which temple I think it is in my power to show you.

I purchased the portion of old White Hall which was removed to make way for erecting buildings near the Liberal Club. On taking it down, I found a number of Roman tiles, and also a number of beautifully carved stone enrichments of some structure of no common elegance. These works were stacked within a portion of the walls of a lower building, but, in some cases, turned face inwards where the back of the stone had been used to face a new wall. The latter wall was surmounted by one probably about 400 years old, remains of successive buildings intervening. The stone is extremely hard, and the original old mortar as hard as cement; it still adheres to the stone, as well as the mortar used in the restoration

of the original structure, and that of old White Hall, which is much softer.

I exhibit specimens of the sculptured work and the three kinds of mortar.

The antiquity of the work, and the old stone re-dressed in some of the later structures built upon it, indicate the use of stone long anterior to the Norman conquest, and continued in use to that date, as some of the facing-stones of the wall at Whitehall were re-worked from the same material.

The stones are of two kinds, the lime-stone of Kent and the grit-stone of Sussex, both of which are, I believe, used in the White Tower.

Taking the use of the older and sculptured material as an example, which is only a secondary following of the Roman masons building their city walls of the erections of the previously existing ancient city, and as adopted later by building former churches in Rome into more recent churches, and applying the principle to the great thickness of the Tower walls, what a mass of archaeological remains may not be built up within those walls. What Roman temples, what Saxon churches and palaces, may not have been demolished by the conquering Normans, to supply the interior of the massive structure of an obliterating iron sway!

What series of historical events may not be concealed within its capacious hold—Roman and Saxon pagan altars—Roman and Saxon Christian altars, with inscriptions bearing evidence of the relapse of Christianised people of both nations reverting into a second paganism.

The dimensions are sufficient to contain the stone of all the Saxon churches and Roman temples in “Augusta” and Londinium, none of which were, as a rule, of large dimensions. And here it may be again remarked that the name “Augusta” evidently applied to the walled and fortified city; while Londinium, which once appertained to both the north and south cities, appears never to have been changed on the south side of the Thames.

I now approach a matter which in these days nobody ventures on; nor should I, but for the remarkable evidences I have discovered.

In the *Saga Book* of the Viking Club, in a Paper I read to that Society in April, 1895, an account is given of excavations and discoveries made by me in Iceland. The particulars were sent by me from Reykjavik at the time, and published in the *Builder*, with illustrations in each case.

In an ancient account of London, Mellitus, the first Bishop of London, is said to have erected his church on the site of a pagan Roman temple. The areas of all European cities were in those days what would now be called very small; so much so that it is not too much to assume, with the configuration of the site of London in view on the map before you, the formation of which has not much changed, and the area of which was regulated by the natural physics of the site, that the site of such Roman temple was on some part of the elevated land now occupied by St. Paul's Cathedral.

This, though mere assumption, cannot be—topographically speaking—very wide of the mark.

On the same principle of assumption, it may not be too much to suppose that such Roman temple had succeeded one founded by the pre-Roman inhabitants, not Keltic, but some of the Baltic people, Hermiones, or others, nations now called Scandinavian, then unnamed, but such were no doubt among the maritime visitants of London, then also unnamed, so far as its history is known to us.

Assuming ancestors of any branch of the Scandinavians, and the possibility of their old customs assimilating to those of Norway before the latter became Christianised, there would have been a Hof or pagan temple. There are features in these natural elevations now occupied by St. Paul's, that must have attracted these early pagan people to select the spot for one of special worship.

There is an account of a quantity of bones of oxen being found when old St. Paul's was erecting. The hasty conclusion was that they were the remains of sacrifices to Apollo or Diana, and that they were near a temple of Diana; this conclusion was vague and uncertain, and historians began to discredit the value of the discovery of the bones, because of the unproved assertions

as to the temple. But there appears to have been a temple where Bishop Mellitus planted his church.

When my friend, the late Mr. Roach Smith, found several cavities in places distant from St. Paul's, in which were bones of oxen, etc., it was considered—probably correctly—that these were places of refuse, and on that ground it was at once concluded the bones previously connected—without foundation—with a supposed temple to Apollo or Diana, were also a refuse deposit. But the position argues against that, as the ancients were rigid against defilement of their sacred sites.

Near an old pagan Hof or temple in Iceland, in an unfrequented part towards the interior, I found two undisturbed very symmetrical tumuli. With the consent of the Lutheran priest whose church was near the site of the old Hof, I made a careful excavation, bisecting them, and so obtaining sections of each.

They were carefully arranged, and so uniform that they told a story of the old religion.

I had encountered, previously and subsequently, several kitchen middens or refuse deposits; the tumuli were quite different in every respect from the middens; they evidently commemorated a succession of similar events, and for reasons given in the *Saga Book*—apparently the succession of Priest kings, the two offices being combined with these people in pagan times. The layers—as shown on the diagram—consisted of bones of sheep and oxen, evidently sacrificed, and the positions of the tumuli were in studied proximity to the old temple.

Here, it appears to me, is ground for reconsidering the deposit of bones on or near a pagan temple, at or not far from St. Paul's. The refuse deposits in no way affect it, any more than the kitchen middens affected the tumuli near the Hof in Iceland.

But the same close proximity of the Christian and pagan church sites—the same near deposition of the bones of sacrificed animals—the same distinction between accidental or waste deposits and studied positions of the remains of sacrifices—claim an earnest consideration and interest.



NOTES FROM NORTH LANCASHIRE.

BY T. CANN HUGHES, ESQ., M.A., TOWN CLERK OF LANCASTER

[Local Member of Council for Lancashire].

(Read 2nd June 1897.)



It has occurred to me that a few notes on matters of archaeological interest which have recently come under my notice may be acceptable to my fellow members of the British Archaeological Association, and may be put on record for future use.

The ancient borough of Lancaster, in addition to possessing a very fine mace, which, with other corporate regalia, is described by Mr. St. John Hope in his well-known work on *Municipal Insignia*, has a most interesting series of charters. These commence with the earliest existent document, that of John, Earl of Moreton, granted to Lancaster in 1193. This is followed by a long series of charters. These, thanks to the thoughtful care of my predecessor as Town Clerk (Mr. W. O. Roper, F.S.A.), have been framed and glazed and their seals preserved; and I hope the day is not far distant when they will be all translated and published by Mr. Roper in his long-promised *History of Lancaster*, in a way and with a thoroughness with which none else has the knowledge to treat of them. For my present purpose it is sufficient to mention that, by the Charter of 1338, the burgesses obtained permission to hold a fair on the eve of St. Michael and for fifteen days next following, and also a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. By his Charter

of 1420, Henry V confirmed the right to hold these fairs. These rights of fair have been from time to time continued by other charters. By a Charter of Charles II (1684), the Corporation had power to appoint "one Common Clerk, one honest man to be Mace bearer, and Two sergeants". These officers are still appointed, and in their robes of office accompany the mayor on all public processions, churchgoings, and the like. One of the sergeants is called "The Mayor's Sergeant", and the other "the Town Sergeant", and they walk at the head of the processions, bearing the two smaller silver-gilt maces of the date of James I. The mace-bearer carries the great mace of Queen Anne, a very handsome emblem. Lancaster is, so far as I am aware, the last town in England in which, as provided by its ancient charters, the proclamation of the fair is still carried out. Twice since I became Town Clerk have I taken part in this proclamation, on 10th October 1896, and 1st May last. The proclamation is read by the Mayor's Sergeant on the steps of the town hall in the presence of the Mayor, Town-clerk, and other officials.

The following is a copy of the proclamation :—

" May 1st, July 5th, October 10th, . . . Esquire, Mayor of the Borough and Town of Lancaster, and Justice of the Peace of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, within the said Borough, strictly chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons which be or hereafter shall be assembled here this day or during the time of this present fair, that they keep the peace, make no affray, create no quarrels for any master old or new, whereby Her Majesty's Peace may be broken, upon pain of forfeiture of One hundred shillings and their bodies to prison, there to remain during the said Mayor's pleasure; and also that no manner of person or persons being Merchants, chapmen, sellers, buyers, losers, or changers, do sell, buy, lose, or change any manner of merchandise, goods, or chattels, but such as be merchantable; and the same goods and chattels to be bought and sold in open fair and market, and in no hid or secret place, upon pain of forfeiture of the same goods and chattels, one half to Her Majesty's use and the other to the takers thereof, and also that no manner of person or persons buy or sell with any weight, balance, mete, or measure, within the Town or fair, but such as may be marked or sealed by the Mayor or his officers, and lawfully tried by Her Majesty's standard for weights and measures remaining

here in this Town, to be kept for the whole body of the shire, upon pain of forfeiture of such weights and measures and their bodies to prison, there to remain until they have been fined for the same. And that no person or persons do defraud the officers of Her Majesty's Customs, toll, or duties to Her Majesty's due within this fair, upon pain of imprisonment and fine at the Mayor's pleasure; and that no horses be brought into the markets this present day to be sold before three of the clock in the afternoon, upon pain of imprisonment of the bringers thereof, and the Horse Fair and Fair for all manner of Cattle shall be held in Penny Street, Dalton Square, and adjacent streets, and the Cloth fair in Church Street and adjacent streets. And further, the said Mayor hereby publisheth that if any person be wronged or have any offence offered within the precincts of this Fair or the liberties thereof, he, she, or they may come to the said Mayor and officers of this Town and the matter shall be heard and determined according to justice; and that it shall and may be lawful for all Her Majesty's loving subjects to come free or go free during the time of this present fair, without impediment or arrest, to be laid upon them by warrant from the said Mayor for any matter or cause (Matters of Treason Felony, Breach of Her Majesty's Peace, Executions after Judgments, and Offences committed within this Fair only excepted), and this Fair to continue three days, whereof this day to be the first.

“GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.”

The practical result of all this is now nothing. As a matter of fact, there is not now any Cloth Fair, and only a few stalls in the market square, and the fair opens business on the night before the proclamation.

The old Mayor's seal of the borough, believed to be of the reign of Henry IV or Henry V, has in its centre three towers (each triple-turreted), with a lion passant guardant crowned with a fleur-de-lis. The legend runs
✠ S HENR DE G RE ANGLE FRANCE : DNS : HIBE.

The following is a description of the special jubilee medal designed for Lancaster in 1887 by Mr. T. Pinches, of London.

The obverse has the head of Her Majesty facing to the left, and the inscription: VICTORIA QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DUKE OF LANCASTER. The reverse has a view of the gateway of the Castle, the royal arms and those of Lancaster, and the inscription: “In Com-

memoration of the Fiftieth Year of Her Majesty's Reign. Lancaster, T. Storey, Mayor, 21 June, 1887." This year another special medal has been designed by Mr. Pinches. The obverse is as before, with a slightly older head of the Queen. The reverse has a representation of the town hall, the arms as before, and an inscription: "In Commemoration of the Sixtieth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, N. W. Helme, Mayor, 22 June 1897."

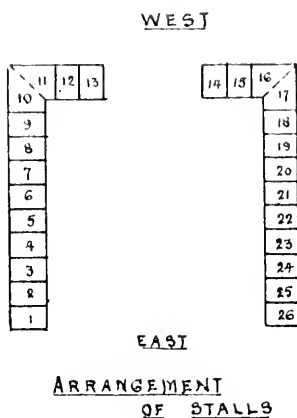
In the attics of the Town Clerk's office are preserved several relics of some interest. Here may be seen the ancient stocks of the town, and a most interesting series of ale and spirit measures, which it is hoped will some day find a fitting home in a local museum. They are said to have been made from guns captured from the Spanish Armada.

The runic cross, once in Lancaster, and now preserved in the British Museum (see a full description by the late John Mitchell Kemble, F.S.A., in vol. xxix of *Archæologia*) is well known to antiquaries, as are also the stones at Halton and Heysham, described by Mr. Romilly Allen in the *Arch. Journal*, vol. 42, p. 328, and perhaps even more fully by Mr. J. Holme Nicholson and the Rev. Thomas Lees in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. ix. There are, however, three small pieces of similar carving noticed by Mr. Roper, and built into the north and west walls of the parish church of St. Mary at Lancaster. One of these has rather the appearance of Roman work. It is to be hoped that they may some day be taken out and placed in the local museum.

A large collection of antiquities found some years ago in Lancaster, including a Roman altar, much Samian pottery and other things, described by the late Mr. Thompson-Watkin in his *Roman Lancashire*, were removed by their then owner (Mr. Dalzell) to his new home at Workington. There is, however, now a great probability that all these, thanks to the energy of Mr. Roper and Councillor Satterthwaite, will be restored to the temporary museum in the Storey Institute.

There are a very large number of ancient dated door-heads about Lancaster, some of them with very curious designs, one having a fish and others other emblems.

On Easter Monday, in company with Councillor Satterthwaite, I visited Cartmel and the district. We first inspected Cark Hall, which has been in the Fletcher Rigge family from the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is an old mansion, and has some most interesting carving over the front door, and contains an old oak bedstead dated 1610. From here we went to Holker Hall, formerly the residence of the late Duke of Devonshire, but now occupied by Victor Cavendish, Esq., M.P. Though beautifully situated in a richly-wooded park, the house is of little or no antiquarian interest. Hence we proceeded to the fine priory church of Cartmel, so fully described from its architectural side by the late Rev. J. L. Petit in vol. 27 of the *Arch. Journal*. Most interesting and beautiful is this grand old church, but to me the object was to see the fine *misereres* and woodwork, and to describe them for you to the best of my ability. Their position and details will perhaps be best understood from the following rough diagram:—



I took careful measurements on the following basis, as suggested by Mr. T. A. Martin, who has so long been interested in this question:—

- (a) Elbow to elbow, 31 ins.
- (b) Height of seat, 17 ins.
- (c) Total height from ground when turned up, 26 ins.
- (d) Depth of seat front to back, 14 ins.
- (e) Depth of bracket, 5 ins.
- (f) Width of seat, 27 ins.

DETAILS.

1. Centre, floral scroll, supporters floral.
2. Centre, grotesque mask, supporters floral.
3. Centre, two birds feeding from a basket, supporters floral.
4. Centre, bird with two bunches of grapes in bill, supporters floral.
5. Centre, fowl frontface, supporters, left floral, right devil.
6. Centre, wyvern sideways, supporters floral.
7. Centre, devil with crown and sceptre, supporters floral.
8. Centre, mermaid with double comb and circular glass, supporters, left floral, right curled fish.
9. Centre, monkey with jug in left hand held aloft, and something in right hand, supporters left wyvern, right floral.
10. Centre, angel with book, supporters floral.
11. Centre, pelican in her piety, supporters floral.
12. Centre, triple head emblematical of Trinity, supporters floral.
13. Centre, floral with grapes, supporters W. W. under crown.
14. Centre, horse in a wood, supporters floral.
15. Centre, floral; supporters left floral, right grotesque head.
16. Centre grotesque, supporters floral.
17. Fixed, nothing under.
18. Centre, wyvern to left, supporters grotesques.
19. Centre, fullface mask; supporters, left floral, right mask.
20. Centre, Tudor rose; support, left bull's head, right apple fruit.
21. Centre, dogs hunting stag; supporters, left W. W. under crown, right hedgehog.
22. Centre, floral; supporters, left floral, right grotesque.
23. Centre, elephant and castle; supporters, left floral, right grotesque.
24. Centre, ivy leaves, supporters floral.
25. Centre, grotesque animal; supporters, left rose, right mask.
26. Centre floral, supporters floral.

The woodwork over the stalls is also of great interest, emblems being shown of the Passion and other details. It is more modern than the stalls themselves. Three of the stalls, Nos. 8, 12, and 23, are very fine, and of special interest. No. 8 is treated in a somewhat different way on the *misereres* at Chester Cathedral, Worcester

Cathedral, and Malpas Church, Cheshire. No. 12, I believe to be quite unique; the same idea is found in encaustic tiles in other churches. No. 23 is the elephant and castle found in its crudest form on our earliest English *misereres* in Exeter Cathedral, and also at Chester. W. W. on the prior's stall is the monogram of William de Walton, one of the early priors.

There are many matters of interest in this church. The famous Harrington monument has received able but perhaps not final treatment, at the hands of Mr. W. O. Roper, F.S.A., in the *Transactions* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The quaint umbrella formerly held over the officiating clergymen at funerals, the monument with the impossible date, the beautiful recumbent effigy of Lord Frederick Cavendish, with his hand as mutilated by his murderers in Phoenix Park, and strikingly reproduced by Woolner, are all of interest.

There is in the vestry a most excellent old library of about 294 volumes, given by one Thomas Preston in 1696. The books are fully described by Chancellor Christie in his *Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire*, published by the Chetham Society. In this church was also preserved, within the memory of man, a moveable pew, which could be taken about the church on wheels at the wish of its owners.

It is perhaps worth while to state that an ancient boat has been discovered in 1896, buried in peat, some three miles outside Lancaster at Blea Tarn, in constructing the new Blea Tarn Reservoir of the Corporation. It has been carefully preserved by the Water Engineer, Mr. John Cook, C.E.¹

¹ Since this paper was written, a further curious discovery has been made at Blea Tarn. Buried beneath the peat were found the remains of George Postlethwaite, lost from Lancaster over forty years ago; his joiner's rule and watch and boots in good preservation.—T. C. H.





ON SOME PRIMITIVE ORNAMENTATION FOUND ON PREHISTORIC POTTERY.

BY B. WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D.

(Read 7th April 1897.)



THE exhibits of earthenware on the table are from burial mounds in Canada. They may be received as genuine fragments of ancient American pottery, as they were given by Mr. David Boyle, the curator of the museum in Toronto, to my daughter and a friend when visiting the museum.

The pieces are very small, and are no doubt surplus finds, of no value to the museum. But they have on them markings by way of ornament, which are of interest when compared with the ornamentation of pottery found in similar burial mounds in Europe.

I have no intention of entering into the question as to how America became inhabited, as a paper was read on the subject by Mr. Fryer at the meeting of our Society held on November 4 of last year, and printed in the Association's *Journal*. I may, however, mention that there is among anthropologists the belief that the eastern or Atlantic side of America was peopled by emigrants from the north of Europe: and that, in the opinion of geologists, there was at one time, extending into the post-glacial period, much more land in the North Atlantic Ocean than at present.

It is supposed there was land connecting the Old and New World, America, during the Palaeolithic Age, affording an overland route between Europe and America.

That America was inhabited at a very early period, before the mastodon or mammoth became an extinct

animal, is demonstrated by the stone arrow-heads dug up with the skeleton of the mammoth now in the Natural History Museum. It was exhibited in London about sixty years since, with arrow-heads of the usual form, which the attendant, in a casual manner, said were found with the bones.

In order to support the belief that arrow-heads found with bones of mastodon were not deposited later than the skeletons, it is mentioned that one at least was found underneath the remains of a mastodon. Bryant and Gay, in their history of America, say two stone arrow-heads were found under the skeleton of a mammoth, in such a position that they must have been there when the animal fell. The mammoth's skeleton, and the earthwork representing animals, referred to in Mr. Fryer's paper, were found in the United States of America. The latter were probably made by a race of Indians distinct from those in Canada.

The Canadian Indians seem to have no internal power of developing. They are the same now as they were three hundred years ago, when we first had reliable accounts of them. What progress they have made towards civilisation is due to the influence of missionaries and other Europeans, who have formed for them settlements, and induced them to exchange the habits of a hunter for those of agriculturists.

The mounds in Canada, with the exception of earthworks constructed for defensive purposes, are burial places. David Boyle¹ says they afford examples of various kinds of interments, and that few graves are found between the rivers Ottawa and St. Laurence, a district at one time apparently well inhabited. Further west there are numerous single graves, in a part of the country, he suggests, as well as north and east, occupied by the Ojibwas, Montagnais, and Nascopies, or Nenenoti, to whom the pieces of pottery on the table probably belonged.

In the Huron nation's territory both single and communal graves are to be found ; the latter being a common

¹ *Notes on Prehistoric Man in Ontario.*

grave into which the bones of those who died during the previous twelve years were removed. On these occasions there was a grand festival — “The Great Feast of the Dead”.

How it happened that savage nations became acquainted with the manufacture of earthenware is unknown, and therefore open to speculative suggestions. It is supposed the idea may have arisen from the effect of heat on the soil where a fire had been made, and its altered condition noticed. There is a custom amongst gipsies and other vagrants which, if practiced by primitive man, would readily account for the introduction of the art of pottery. They cover a bird or hedgehog with a thick coating of clay, and put it into the middle of a fire. In time the clay becomes baked and the food cooked. The clay covering is then broken, taking with it the feathers and skin of the animal, but leaving the flesh in the condition of baked meat. The burnt clay covering would, if carefully broken, form a receptacle in which water could be brought from a neighbouring brook. Mr. Ratzel¹ tells us, “in lake dwellings there have been found what leads to the conclusion that the inhabitants made vessels of basket-work and covered them with clay.” Such vessels could have been used only for storage purposes; for water would have acted on the sun-dried clay, and it could not have been burnt or the wicker-work would have been destroyed. He remarks, when speaking of pottery, “anyone will note with astonishment not only in Australia but in Polynesia, how a talented race, in face of needs by no means inconsiderable, manage to get on without that art.” “The art”, he says, “exists only in Tonga and the small Easter Island at the extreme end of Polynesia. He thinks the intercourse between lands and islands has contributed more to the enrichment of man’s stock of culture than has his independent efforts.

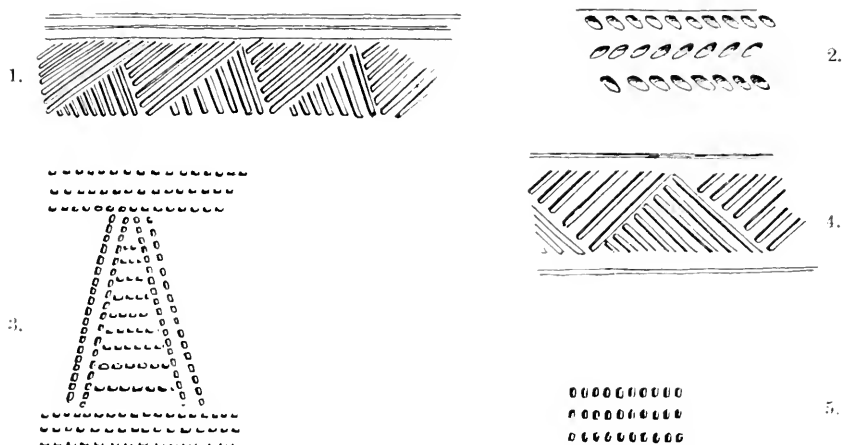
Unlike Asia and Egypt, Canada possesses neither wall paintings, engraved tablets, nor manuscripts to throw light on its remote history. What little authentic

¹ *The History of Mankind.*

knowledge we have of the country and its inhabitants is due to early European navigators. They, however, give very little information beyond what belongs to their personal adventures. A tradition amongst the Iriquois Indians relates to a white chief and his crew becoming incorporated with a tribe of Indians : from the amalgamation they derived their origin and name. The tradition may have some connection with the visits of the sons of Eric the Red, who had been forced to leave his country. He fled to land in the west, which had been discovered by Gunnbiorn, and had been known for about a century. Eric named the land Greenland, for he returned to Europe for emigrants, and thought the name would be attractive. His sons, soon after the year 985 (in which Biorne sailed along the coast of North America), visited the American continent ; and, so far as is known, they were the first Europeans to set foot on American soil ; but the hardy sea-roving Northmen may have been there earlier.¹

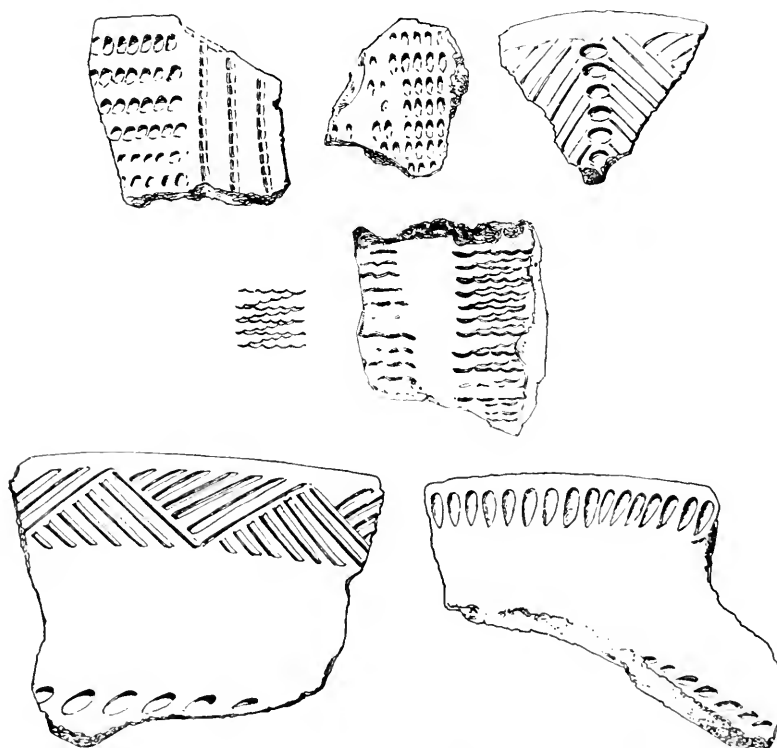
About the year 1170, Mad'oc, a Welsh prince, is said to have sailed from Wales and arrived in America, where he left some of his crew, and returned home for more people with which to form a settlement in a country where they could live in peace, free from the petty wars carried on by the Welsh princes. The account is not considered historical, and may have been the invention of the Welsh bards. There are other accounts of early expeditions from Greenland, but they do not mention the habits or customs of the Indians, nor any traditions. Bryant and Gay state that the "Mandans show, if not traces of an intermixture with the blood of the white, at least a marked difference between themselves and other native tribes." In the manufacture of pottery they are said to have superiority over the ordinary savage. Mr. Ratzel also says the Mandans excel in pottery, but their next neighbours, the Asiniboines, do not produce it. The Aborigines' potters' art fell into disuse after the introduction of metal utensils. The metal vessels were much lighter than those made of clay, and not so liable

¹ Bryant and Gay's *History of North America*, vol. i, p. 38.



DRAWINGS FROM PREHISTORIC POTTERY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

- 1.—Pattern on piece of Pottery (Sepulchral Pottery, Germany).
- 2.—Three Lines of Incised Ornament, on a Food Vessel. Barrow, Hutton Buscel, North Riding of Yorkshire. B. B. CLII. Greenwell.
- 3.—Ornament on a Drinking-Cup. Barrow, Kilmartin, Argyllshire. Greenwell Coll.
- 4.—(Same type of Ornament as No. 1.) Incense Cup. Barrow, Fylengdales, North Riding of Yorkshire. Greenwell Coll.
- 5.—Incised Ornament on a Food Vessel. Barrow, Bishop Burton, East Riding of Yorkshire. Greenwell Coll.



DRAWINGS FROM POTTERY FOUND IN CANADIAN BURIAL MOUNDS.

to breakage : whilst the metal could, moreover, be used for other purposes when the utensils themselves were worn out and therefore useless. The pieces of American pottery exhibited show designs of tastefully-arranged dots and lines ; some pieces, and the tobacco pipe are, however, roughly made, as if by less skilful hands.

It has been pointed out that the Canadian Indians show no inherent power of development, supporting Mr. Ratzel's opinion that such a development in culture must arise from contact with a superior race. But Canon Greenwell, when speaking of the ornamentation of pottery found in British barrows similar to those on American pottery, says it is precisely that which would be developed by the art instinct of a people in a comparatively low state of civilisation.

The accompanying plate shows the similarity of ornamentation on the pieces of pottery found in the Canadian graves, and those from British mounds in Canon Greenwell's collection in the British Museum. Paul B. Du Chaillu has, in his work *The Viking Age*, a drawing of an earthen vessel, having on it a zigzag ornament.¹ It was, he says, dug out of a mound in the Island of Möen, in the Baltic, with neolithic stone implements. Earthenware vessels with similar markings have been found in Scotland.

The similarity of the manner and the designs of the ornaments on the pottery found in the burial mounds in Canada and in Europe is remarkable, and leads to the supposition that at a very remote prehistoric period there had been communications between the two continents. But Canon Greenwell, a very high authority, believes that primitive potters would, if placed under similar circumstances, develop the same simple manner of ornamenting their earthenware.²

¹ Vol. i, p. 80.

² *British Barrows*, p. 65.





DISCOVERIES ON BRANDON HILL, BRISTOL.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER.

(Read 19th May 1897.)



GOTHIC hermitage and chapel occupied the summit of Brandon Hill at an early date,¹ and the first known occupant was Lucy de Newchurch, in 1351; while in 1403 a hermit, named Reginal Taylor, lived in the building. A few years later William Wyrester visited the hill, and he has recorded the measurements of the chapel. It would appear that both hermitage and chapel disappeared in the reign of Henry VIII, and a windmill was erected here at a later period.

The Cabot Memorial Tower will occupy the site of the ancient hermitage, and the foundations, about eight feet deep, are being dug. The excavation has been carried down to the millstone grit rock of which the hill is composed. Resting on this rock was a floor of beaten earth or thin cement. On removing a portion of this floor, a well-made grave was found. It measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length, and about 2 ft. in depth, and was broad at the shoulders, tapering to the feet. The grave lay east and west, and was carefully lined with masonry. A writer² to the *Western Daily Press* says:—

“The grave contained a skeleton. The covering slab had probably been removed before the workmen knew of its existence. Near at hand were found the remains of two other skeletons, but many of the bones were removed in the soil and rubbish, and only

¹ *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. ii, p. 121.

² Mr. Frederick Ellis.

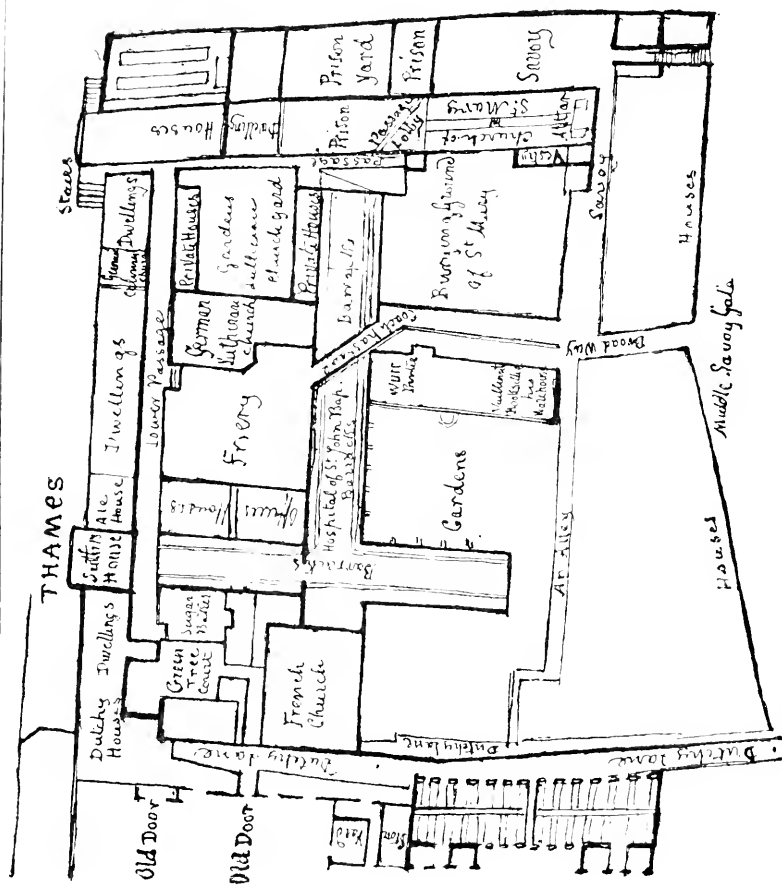
parts of them were to be seen on my arrival. Of the three skeletons, one cranium only and two lower jaws had been preserved. The cranium was well developed, but thin. Most of the teeth were in position, and in good condition; the molars were much worn, and indicated the use of coarse food. Judging from the teeth and measurement of the thigh bones, one might conclude the age of the person to be forty or upwards. The floor above the graves was bounded in one direction by a wall of massive stones set in very hard cement, and on the other side traces of a passage, or outlying portion of a room, appeared with carefully plastered walls, similar in character to those subterranean passages which I have seen beneath ecclesiastical ruins in Bristol."

A few fragments of green glazed tiles were also found, and it has been conjectured that they may have belonged to the floor, or perhaps to the roof of the structure which once covered it.

The excavation has also brought to light several beds of ashes and dark earth. Numerous early tobacco-pipes and leaden bullets were found in this dark soil. These were about four feet above the earlier remains, and there is little doubt that these indicated the position of camp-fires during the sieges of Bristol in 1643-4.

We may infer that the discovery on Brandon Hill is a crypt belonging to the chapel of the Irish Saint Brandon, and it may be that the skeletons are the remains of some of the poor hermits who once occupied the hermitage; while above this ancient building are the remains of camp-fires, pipes and bullets of the time of Charles I.





SAVOY BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS, STRAND, ANNO 1736.



ST. MARY-LE-SAVOY AND THE OLD PALACE AND HOSPITAL.

BY MRS. COLLIER.

(Read at the London Congress, 1896).



WHEN I undertook to contribute a paper on the Savoy Palace and Hospital, I was unaware of the mass of material which would come before me, and which I should only be able lightly to touch upon, though it has grown under my hand as I proceeded with my researches. I can only briefly sum up the results of my studies, as the time at my disposal this evening does not permit me to treat it in the manner which I consider worthy of the subject.

In the first place, I discovered yesterday, when listening to a learned discourse in the Palace at Maidstone, that the Savoy had never any right to be called a palace at all, as that title is properly reserved for kings' or bishops' residences. However, that error is common property, and I can only say that I find the Savoy called a palace, until it became a hospital, in every work I have consulted on the subject. Leaving that misnomer confessed but not corrected, I will commence at once by reminding you that the present Royal Chapel, Savoy, stands where, until the year 1864, there remained the ancient church of St. Mary-le-Savoy, known as the Chapel Royal, and the last relic of the once-splendid palace of that name, originally built about the year 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy, when on a visit to his niece, Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III, and presented by the founder to the Fraternity of Mountjoy. It did not remain many years in their possession, as the Queen, in the reign of her eldest son

Edward I, purchased the property, and bestowed it on her second son, Edmund, afterwards Earl of Lancaster. In the reign of the second Edward, Henry, brother of the Earl of Lancaster (Thomas),¹ on whom the estate had devolved, rebuilt the palace at a cost of 52,000 marks. After his death it became the property of his son Henry, first Duke of Lancaster,² in the reign of Edward III. His daughters and coheiresses, Matilda and Blanche, entered into possession on his death, and the latter marrying John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond, the whole estate became his in right of his wife, her sister having died childless.

We have not any records of this early building, where John, King of France was, according to Froissart, confined, after having been taken prisoner by Edward, the Black Prince, at Cressy, and where later on he died, in the year 1363, when in England on a visit.

It appears that John of Gaunt had offended the citizens of London by favouring the reforming opinions of Wickliffe, and in 1377 they attacked the palace, which was only saved by the interference of the Bishop of London, who ordered the insurgents to desist.

A few years later, in 1381, in the rebellion led by Wat

¹ Earl of Lancaster, beheaded for treason March 2nd, 1322, but so popular among the people for his munificence and piety, and resistance to tyranny, that he was worshipped as a saint, and his tomb resorted to for the reputed miracles performed there. His estates were forfeited to the Crown, but in 1324, two years later, were restored to his brother, Earl Henry. In the interim the Savoy had been granted to Edward, Earl of Chester, as the King's eldest son was then called. In this grant the place is described as "that messuage with its appurtenances *quod vocatur la Sauceye*, near the stone outside the bar of the new Temple"; but an inquisition concerning the property of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, having been allowed, the jury employed found Henry of Lancaster to be the next heir, and the estate was restored to him.

² After which it was accounted as the head-quarters of the great Duchy Palatine of Lancaster, and became the resort of kings and princes, poets and prelates, noblemen and knights, and all the crowd of celebrated persons who lived and illuminated the reign of Edward III. Wickliffe, Chaucer and Froissart, are names to awaken memories of this celebrated palace, but the great reformer was one whose friendship was dangerous, and the destruction of the famous home of John of Gaunt was principally due to the favour he had shown to the opinions of Wickliffe.

Tyler, the palace was destroyed by fire, with all its valuable contents, the Duke and his family escaping to Holland. An old couplet from Hardyng's *Chronicle* states that

“The Comons brent the Savoye a Palace faire,
For the evil wyll they had unto Duke John.”

Stowe's *Chronicle* describes the scene at the destruction of the palace in graphic terms. He says :—

“The Comons of Surrey shortly got the poore citizens to conspire with them, and the same day, after the sunne was got on some heighth that it waxed warme, and that they had tasted at their pleasure divers wines, whereby they were become as madde as drunken (for the rich citizens had set open their sellers to enter at their pleasure), they begun to talke of many things; amongst others they exhorted each other, that going to the Savoye the Duke of Lancaster's house, to the which there was none in the realme to be compared in beauty and stateliness, they mought set fire on it, and burne it. This talke pleasing the comons of the city, they straight ran thither, and setting fire on it round about applied their travaile to destroy that place; and that it mought appeare to the communality of the realme that they did not anything for covetise they caused a proclamation to be made that none on paine to lose his head should presume to convert to his own use, anything that there was or mought be found, but that they should breake such plate and vessell of gold, silver, as were in that house in great plenty into small pieces and throw the same into the Thames. Clothe of gold and silver, silke and velvet, they should teare, rings and jewels set with precious stones they should bruise in mortars, that the same might be of no use, etc.—and so it was done. Henry Knighton writeth that when the rebelles burnte the Savoy, one of them (contrary to the Proclamation) tooke a goodly piece of silver and hid it in his bosom, but another that espied him told his fellowes who forthwith hurried him and the piece of plate into the fire, saying, ‘we be zealous of truth and justice and not theeves or robbers.’ Two and thirtie of these rebels entered a sellar of the Savoy, where they dranke so much of sweet wines, that they were not able to come out in time, but were shut in with wood and stones that mured up the doore, where they were heard crying and calling seven days after, but none came to help them out till they were dead.”—Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1600, p. 436.

In his *Surrey of London* this writer also says :—

“That the insurgents found there certaine barrels of gunpowder which they thought had been gold or silver, and throwing them into

the fire, more suddenly than thought the Hall was blowne up, the houses destroyed and themselves very hardly escaped away.

"The palace was reduced to a heap of ruins, and so remained until more than a century later, when new buildings began to rise on the ashes of the destroyed palace, and the King, Henry VII, laid the foundations of a Hospital for the Poor. In his will, dated Canterbury, April 10th, 1509, he provides for the building and establishing of a common hospital 'in our place called the Savoy beside Charing Cross nigh to our City of London and the same we intend by God's grace to finish after the manner form and fashion of a *plut* which is devised for the same and signed with our hand, and endowed with lands and tenements to the yearly value of 500 marks,¹ above all reprises to bear maintain and sustain therewith as well one hundred beds garnished to receive and lodge nightly one hundred poor folks, as also a certain number of priests and other ministers and servitors men and women as such a matter shall require.'"

Henry also delivered "before the hand" 10,000² marks for the building, providing beds and furnishing the chapel of the hospital; this money to be given over to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for that purpose. Henry VIII, who shortly after succeeded to the throne, by letter patent under the Great Seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the second year of his reign, caused the Bishop of Winchester and London, and other executors of his father's will, to proceed with the work and finish the buildings, which were at length completed in the fifteenth year of his reign, when the king signed the statutes for the government of the foundation.

There is something vague in the documents defining the objects of the new foundation. William Holgill, priest, was appointed first master; there were five chaplains of the hospital, who were to fulfil the duties of praying for the souls of the late king and his family, performing divine service, giving of alms, and the other works of mercy. There were to be a limited number of brothers of the community, whose occupation seems to have been chiefly continual prayer for the souls of the founder and his descendants. The buildings were very magnificent;³ the last remnants of the hospital, with the

¹ Equal to about £333.

² Equal to £6,660.

³ They were considered among the sights of London. Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, visited the church in 1519. "He arrived

exception of the chapel, were on the south-west of the church, extending to the water's edge, and were used as a storehouse until the Embankment was made.

The building was strongly built, chiefly of stone; the outer walls faced the Thames with steps leading down to the river, but the main entrances were on the Strand front. Over the gate was sculptured these words:—

“ Hospitium hoc inopi turba
Savoia vocatum
Septimus Henricus fundavit ab imo solo.”

The chapel was dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

Of the exact date of the consecration of the new church at the building of the hospital, we have no record; it probably took place at or before the time of the ratification of the powers of the trustees to the will of Henry VII.

The church was built in the Tudor style, more substantial than decorative, of stone, without aisles, with six broad pointed windows on each side, and a larger one at the north end. The ceiling was more ornate, being coved at the sides, the centre horizontal and panelled all over with quatrefoils, the larger ones containing shields enclosed by sculptured emblems of scriptural subjects.

The ceiling resembles the nearly contemporary one of the chapel at St. James's Palace. The reredos has been attributed to Sir Reginald Bray, architect of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, but was probably of a later date.

The church possessed the privilege of sanctuary, which, though abolished in 1696, remained practically in force for many years after.¹

There was some fine panelling in the church, the walls being wainscoted up to 8 ft. above the ground; much perished before the fire in 1864, which consumed all that remained. On the front of the gallery at the

by *bote* from Greenwich, was confessed there, and went from there to my Lord Chamberlaine's to dinner." The builder of the hospital was one Humphrey Cooke, master-carpenter to King Henry VIII, who was interred in the chapel March 3rd, 1530.

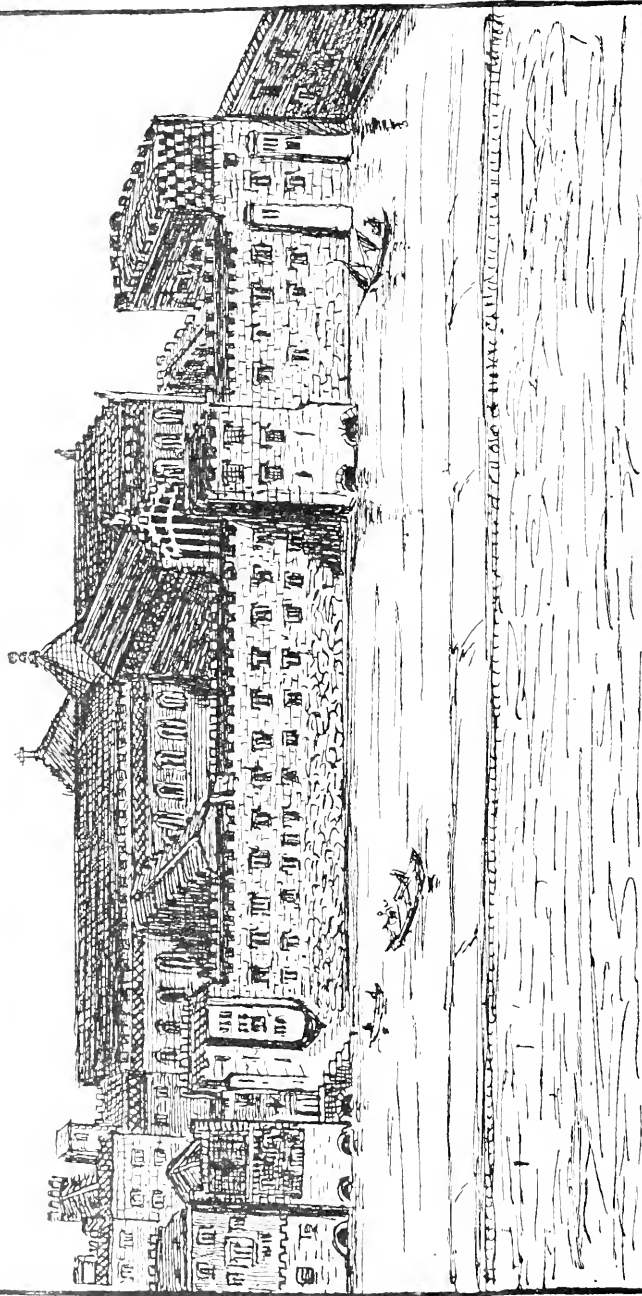
¹ There was also a prison within the precincts.

southern end were twelve panels painted with figures of the Apostles.

It is a rectangular chamber 89 ft. 2 ins. in length, the chancel being to the north; the width throughout is 23 ft. 9 ins.; the altar is raised by a gradual ascent of five steps, the first being 30 ft. from the reredos, which is restored from the fragments of the old one described above.

To return to the history of the hospital, which indeed had a most chequered existence. At first vested in the Crown, the master and four chaplains surrendered it to Edward VI, who made over part of its revenues and beds to his new hospitals, Bridewell and Christchurch; and from that time, according to Stowe's *Chronicle*, the Savoy hospital degenerated into a sort of common lodging-house, "rather", as he remarks, "for the maintenance of thieves and beggary than any relief to the poore".

However, Queen Mary the Catholic interested herself in the restoration of the good estate, and issued a warrant, June 15th, 1556, reciting the original purpose of the foundation: "To pray for the states and soules of sundry our progenytours, kings and queenes of this Realme;" and granted the site as before for estates to the hospital, besides endowing it with new property in lieu of that of which it had been deprived; indeed, it appears that small holdings to the number of thirty-four in various parts of England were assigned to it; and it is related by some chroniclers that the beds having all been removed to Bridewell, the ladies of the Court, "to the better attaining of the Queen's good grace", provided the necessary articles and other furniture required. But the prosperity thus restored to the hospital was short-lived, for in Elizabeth's reign we find the then master, Thomas Thurland, deprived by Commission under the Great Seal of his office, having been convicted of corruption and embezzlement of the hospital estates. Notwithstanding this lesson, the masters and chaplains managed to appropriate revenue, and the purposes of the foundation were discarded. The buildings were let in tenements for their pecuniary



The Savoy in 1736. From an old print by G. Vertue.

advantages; and this continuing unabated through several reigns, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in Queen Anne's reign made a clean sweep of the whole institution. The hospital was dissolved by a decree dated July 1st, 1702, the buildings and property reverting to the Court of Exchequer for the use of the Crown. The yearly rental at that period was computed at £2,500.

It is curious to note the altered conditions of the once noble, and we must admit saintly, precincts of the old Savoy Palace and Hospital at the time of its dissolution. Dr. Killigrew, the last master, had, during his long incumbency, granted thirty leases of tenements and houses built within and around the walls of the Savoy. These were inhabited by tailors, printers, public-house keepers, sugar-makers, and other tradespeople—even a coalheaver is mentioned. It had also become a refuge for debtors and worse characters, pending the abolition of the privilege of sanctuary. A school which had been opened in 1686 by James II for Jesuits, was a source of wrath and annoyance to the Protestant neighbours, and was dissolved on the abdication of the King. The dormitory was used for sick and wounded soldiers and sailors, and shortly after a regiment was accommodated in barracks built at the south end of the chapel. After the dissolution of the hospital, we find that a German, a French, and a Greek chapel are mentioned as within the Savoy boundaries. The German or Dutch church, with large burial-ground attached, remained until our own day.

After the passing of the Marriage Act, the Savoy became known as a place where matrimony was made easy; and clandestine marriages were so frequent that in seven years, viz., 1752 to 1758 inclusive, eleven hundred weddings by licence were performed there, the fees of which brought plenty of cash to the Rev. John Wilkinson, of noted memory, then minister of the church. The Government interfered, but Mr. Wilkinson could not take any gentle hints, but continued to derive great profits, only employing a deputy to perform the ceremonies. At last he surrendered himself to take his trial, feeling certain of an acquittal. He was tried on July 16th, 1756, but

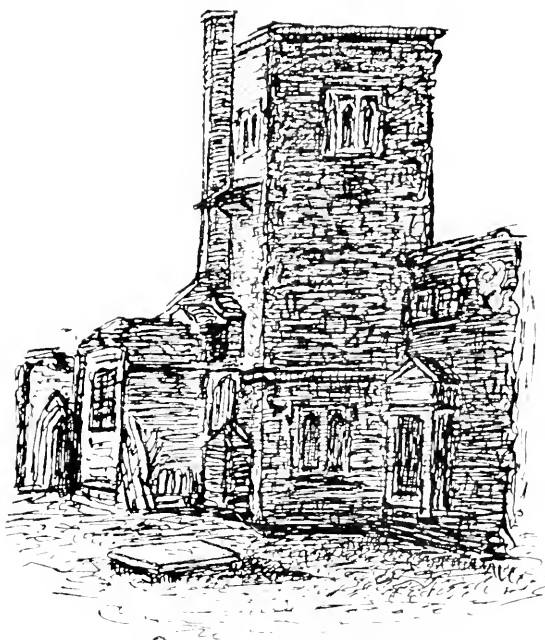
was convicted and condemned to fourteen years' transportation. However, he escaped his punishment by death, at Plymouth, on his way to America.

The chapel, which was the least architecturally notable portion of the buildings, was reserved for a more sudden and dramatic end. After surviving the vicissitudes of the previous centuries, a fire, on July 7th, 1864, destroyed the fittings, roof, and monuments, the lately-restored reredos, and the fine window above it. Only the bare walls remained; and though her Majesty the Queen, at her own expense, commanded the restoration to follow as nearly as possible the old plan and design, much that was interesting, architecturally and historically, could never be replaced. We miss the memories of the past, which were formerly brought before us in this unique spot, where it is said that Wickliffe preached before John of Gaunt; where Wolsey held a council, and where the Savoy Conference took place in 1661—which deserves some notice, as a futile attempt to reconcile the divergent opinions of Churchmen and Presbyterians. Such learned and notable divines as Archbishop Frewin of York, Bishops Cosin, Walton, Gauden and others, took part in the Commission on the side of the Church; while Reynolds, Calamy, Baxter, were some who appeared with a brief for the Presbyterians, to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer. Baxter drew up a reformed liturgy, which the Episcopalians would not look at. The fruitless effort at comprehension was followed in 1662 by the Act of Uniformity, and two thousand Presbyterian incumbents surrendered their livings.

We must observe that the chapel had changed its name on the demolition of the old church of St. Mary-le-Strand by the Protector, Somerset, when the then Master of the Savoy gave that parish permission to use it in lieu of their destroyed church, and it then acquired the name of St. Mary-le Savoy. On the 8th Nov., 1564, Edmund Grindale, Bishop of London, wrote a request which reads much like a command to Thomas Thurland, Master of the Savoy, requiring that the parishioners of St. Mary-le-Strand should not use St. John the Baptist's Chapel of the Savoy, until it be "otherwise devised and procured

that they be by lawful order appointed to the Savoy, which must be done by composition from me as the Ordinary & from the R^t hon^{ble} Sir William Cecil patron of S^t Clements in which parish the Savoy is an hospital and by consent of you the Master of the Savoy and also by the consent of the parson of St. Clements."

This letter was followed by an arrangement which made the chapel free to the parishioners of St. Mary-le



The Chapel Tower in 1787.

Strand, with leave to appoint their minister with approval of the Master. The chapel probably owed its preservation from ruin to this arrangement.

The church was constituted a Chapel Royal in the reign of George III, 27th Nov. 1773, and the chapel was thereafter much improved, William Wilmot, the minister, being favoured by the King. The chapel was also greatly improved and restored at the expense of King George IV in the years from 1828 to 1830.

The parish ministers number many eminent men;

amongst others the well-known Thomas Fuller, who wrote the *Worthies of England*, and suffered much during the Civil War in the seventeenth century, being forced to fly from the Savoy. His last sermon preached there is preserved, and with it an interesting epistle to his dear parish St. Mary Savoy, with touching words as to his grief at leaving, and hope that peace might be restored. He happily did return, though to find a very reduced congregation; and the Restoration found him again at the Savoy, where he died of fever at the age of fifty-three.

The witty epigram referring to his name, and called by him a "prayer", may be quoted:—

"My soul is stained with a dusty colour;
Let Thy Son be the sope, and I'll be the fuller."

These are but a few of the ancient monuments and tablets which escaped destruction in the fire of 1864.

A list was made by the antiquary, John Strype, in the early part of the last century, which comprises forty different memorials. Many familiar names occur among them, and one or two at least deserve special mention here: Gawin Douglas, born 1474, and son of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, better known as Bell-the-Cat. Educated at St. Andrew's University, Gawin became rector of Hawick, then Provost of St. Giles's in 1501; he was made Bishop of Dunkeld in 1516, but lost his see for party strifes, and took refuge at the court of Henry VIII. It has been supposed he was lodged at the Savoy, but more probably he was received into the house of Lord Dacre, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, as in his will he speaks of that residence as his dwelling, but directs that he may be buried in the church of the Savoy. He died of the plague in 1522. His writings comprise several original poems, but his most remarkable work is the translation of Ovid: this being the first rendering of any classic work into English verse. He gives the twelve books with original prologues, remarkable for the diffuse splendour of description.

The work is marked by strength and simplicity. It is to be observed that Douglas is the first writer who applies the Celtic word "Scotch" to the dialect of English

used north of the Tweed. His complete works were elaborately edited by "Smale", Edinburgh, in 1874, and the life of the poet is given in the first volume.

He shares the same gravestone with Thomas Halsey, also a bishop, whose epitaph is doubtful in intention, and at least oddly chosen. He is described as "a man of Probity, who left this only behind him, that while he lived he lived well". There is reason to suppose, from contemporary records, that this bishop was noted for his luxurious life and impecuniosity. He left nothing behind him except the reputation of having loved good living.

Several quaint and interesting epitaphs were formerly in the chapel, but with few exceptions they were destroyed in the fire. George Wither, the poet, was buried here, May 2nd, 1667. Neglected in his own time, modern readers have appreciated his genius, though no monument marks his grave. He wrote some beautiful hymns, and some of his lighter poems are well known—one of his songs, indeed, commencing :

"Shall I, wasting in despair,
Die because a woman's fair?"

is still often quoted. Wordsworth and Charles Lamb seem to have discovered his claims as a poet, and the former, indeed, has prefixed a dozen lines by him to his own poem, "To a Daisy".

Pope, at a date nearer Wither's own time, satirised him in the *Dunciad* as

"Sleeping among the dull of ancient days,
Safe where no critics damn!"

However, though he was little thought of and neglected in his lifetime, and suffered much for writing severely of the abuses of his own day, he never lost faith, and his best hymns are truly Christian in their hopefulness and joyful aspirations. Space fails to record many other names of note connected with St. Mary-le-Savoy, and I must conclude with the hope that the discursive paper I have been allowed to read to you this evening may induce some erudite member of our Association to turn his attention to the subject of this most interesting, and, as far as I can discover, very little known relic of Old London.



NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF AN INCA ORNAMENT.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, ESQ.

(Read 19th May, 1897).

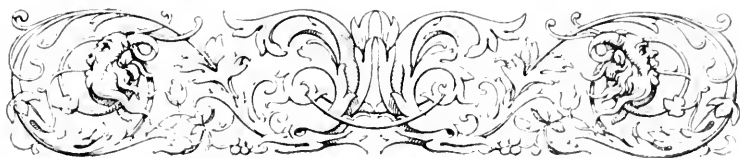


IN his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, Prescott informs us that the tombs of the Incas have been found to contain many specimens of curious and elaborate workmanship. "Among these," he adds, "are vases of gold and silver, bracelets, collars, and other ornaments for the person."

A short time ago, a small portion of a silver ornament which was of primitive Inca workmanship came into my possession. The crust was submitted to chemical treatment, and was found to be almost entirely composed of cuprous oxide. The silver ornament was also carefully examined, and was found to contain 72.30 per cent. of copper and 25.25 per cent. of silver. Iron was found to the extent of 1.25 per cent., and the quantity of zinc was 0.25 per cent. Traces of gold and lead were also discovered.

It is not unlikely that the ornament had been composed by melting down in a furnace the native silver and copper of the Andes of Peru and Chili.

The analysis of a silver ring taken from an Inca grave in Peru is given in the *Journal of the Chemical Society* for 1896. In this case the percentages of iron, zinc, gold and lead are higher, and as the strip of metal forming the ring had been folded over and the two ends soldered together, it was considered that doubtless the zinc and the lead, and perhaps a portion of the iron, formed part of the solder. The analyst considered that the gold came from the use of native silver and copper, which usually contained a small quantity of this precious metal.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

A History of Margam Abbey: derived from the Original Documents in the British Museum, H. M. Record Office, the Margam Muniments, etc. With numerous Illustrations. By WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, L.L.D., F.S.A., of the British Museum.—In the March number of the *Journal* we noticed the approaching completion of this important work; it has since been published, and we are now glad of the opportunity of giving a short review of it. The production of this valuable history is mainly due, as stated by the author in his preface, to the interest excited by a visit to the ruins of the Abbey by the British Archaeological Association during the Congress at Cardiff in 1892 which, in itself, is evidence of the usefulness of such Annual Congresses. Dr. Birch commences his task at the very beginning of the establishment of Christian religious institutions in Glamorganshire, which preceded by some centuries the arrival and settlement in that county of the Cistercian monks, to which Order Margam Abbey belonged. The earliest of these religious foundations appear to have been hermitages, the heremital system having been favourably regarded by the people of that county, and it is to a hermit that the origin of Margam Abbey is to be ascribed. The first chapter of the book deals with the historical remains of some of the chief monastic predecessors of Margam in Glamorganshire, and carefully authenticated lists of the dignitaries who presided over these houses, whether abbots or otherwise, are given by the author from the charters and other muniments preserved in the British Museum. Turning, however, to the history of the Cistercian Abbey, we learn from an examination of the earliest records that, previously to the erection of the Abbey buildings on the present site, a hermit named Meiler inhabited a cell at a place called Pendar. It appears probable that this Meiler had some connection with the Cistercian Abbey of Neath not far distant, founded about twenty years previously. He may have been an inmate of the monastery, although not professed, before taking up his abode at Pendar; of that, however, we have no certain information, but the author gives extracts from the original Latin grant in the Talbot

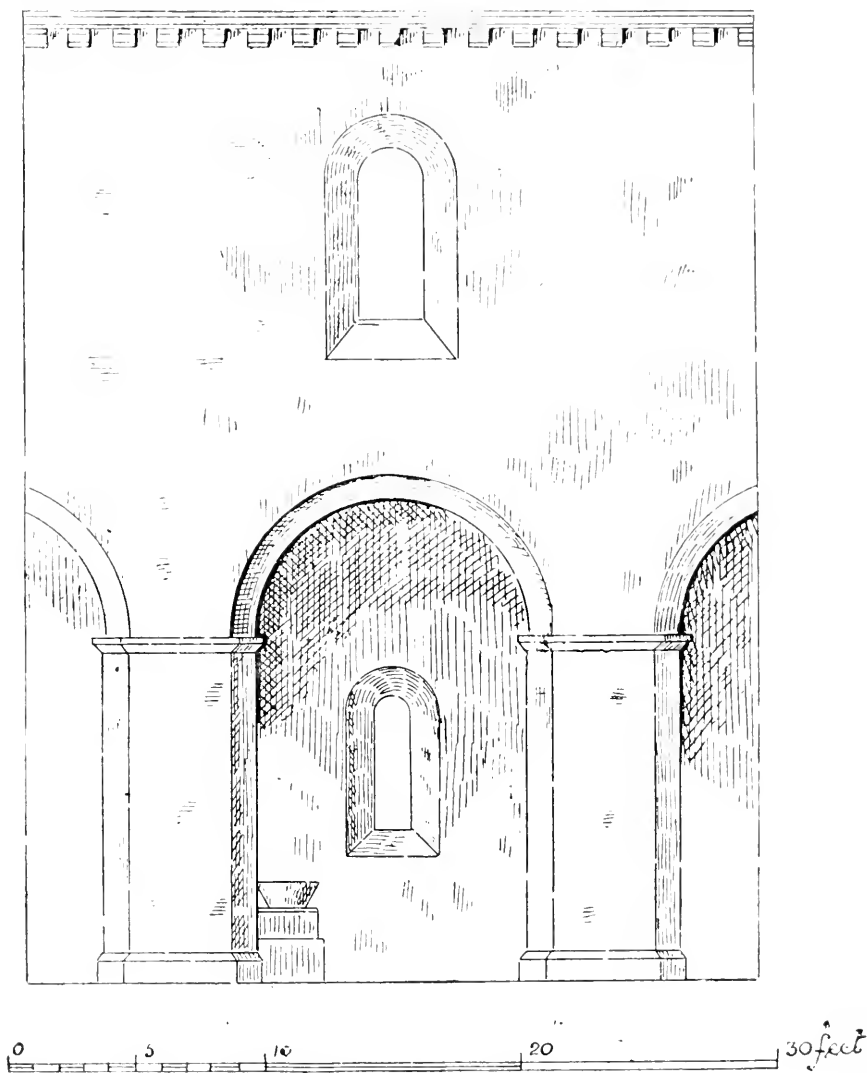
Collection by Caradoc Uerbeis to "God and St. Mary and the Cistercian Order and to brother Meiler and the brethren of Pendar of all his land lying between the three waters", etc., which grant was afterwards confirmed under seal and duly attested. From this grant, supported by another deed not dated, but attributable to the year 1151, brother Meiler appears then to have been presiding over the two establishments of Pendar and Margam, and so he may be regarded as probably the first of the abbots of the latter monastery. Dr. Birch produces ample evidence from the *Cottonian MSS.*, to prove that as early as the year 1147 the present site had been granted to the



Carter's View of the West Front of Margam Abbey, A.D. 1803.

Cistercians for the purpose of building an Abbey thereon, and Margam is included in the list of Cistercian Abbeys preserved in the British Museum. In Chapter VI we have much information in regard to the privileges granted to the brethren by a Bull of Pope Urban III at the close of the twelfth century, which shows that the Abbey at that time held an important position and was in the possession of many benefactions. Much progress had by then been made with the various buildings of the Abbey, and Margam was rapidly approaching to that pre-eminence it subsequently attained amongst the monasteries of Wales. The architectural features of the Abbey are well described and clearly illustrated, including reproductions of views and sketches

by John Carter and Sir R. Hoare of the ruins as they were at the beginning of the century, which are very useful for comparison with

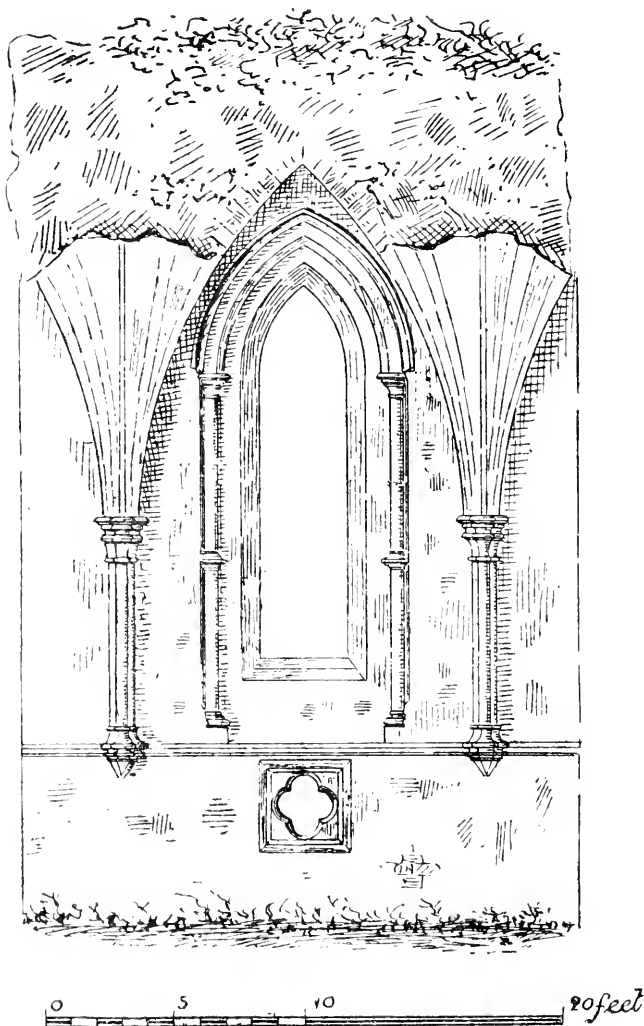


North Side of Nave, Margam.

(From Hoare.)

those of recent date. The earliest portion of the buildings now remaining show that the church was originally plain and simple, but dignified in design, in keeping with the well-known severe rules of the

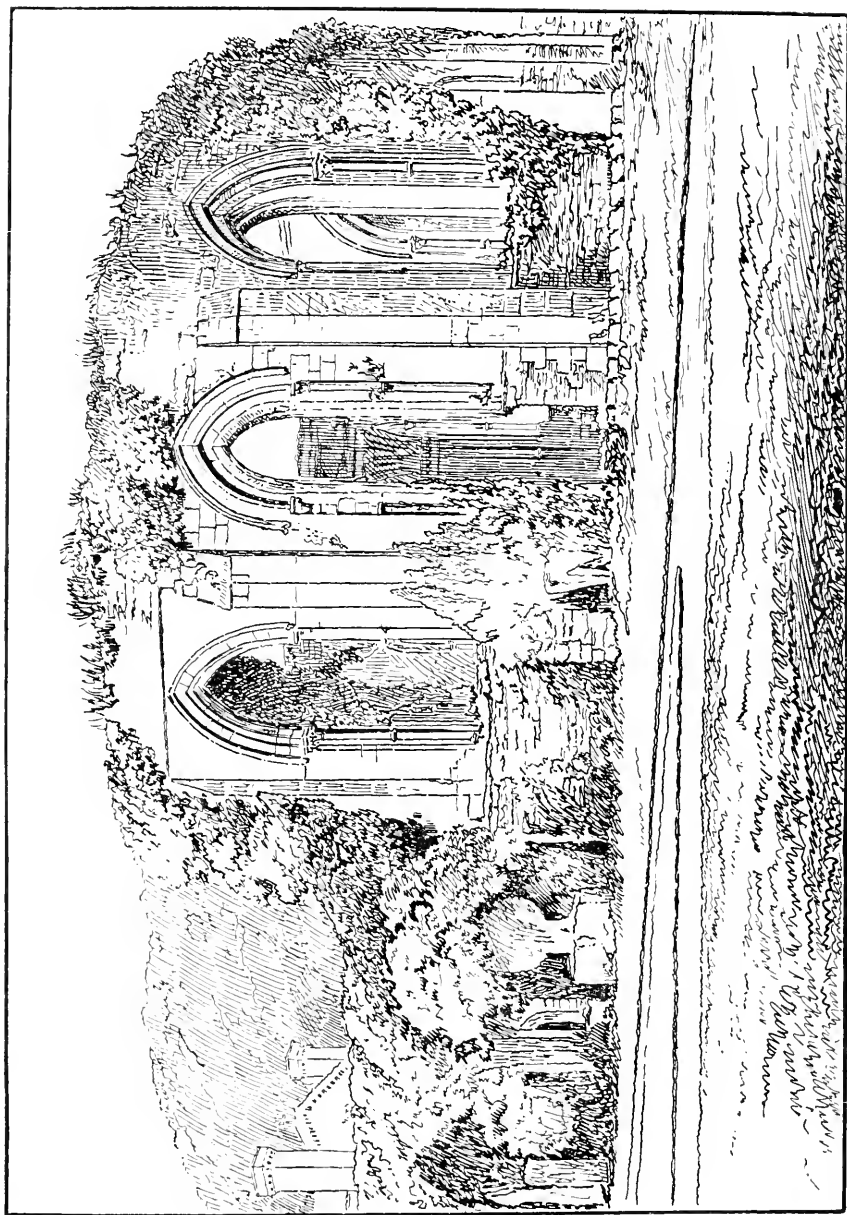
Cistercians in such matters. Carter's view of the west front has quite a continental appearance. From the illustration of a part of the nave



Chapter-House, Margam Abbey—Interior of East End.
(From Hoare.)

arcade, given on page 87, we should have been disposed to assign an earlier date to the building of the church than that recorded, so plain and simple is its character.

In the thirteenth century the Cistercian Order had already com-



CHAPTER HOUSE, MARGAM ABBEY, SOUTH VIEW.

(From a Drawing by C. Lynam, Esq.)

menced to depart from the strictness of their original rules as to architectural adornment, and the chief glory of Margam at that date must have been its very beautiful Chapter House, of many-sided form, the use of which by this Order was most uncommon, only one other instance (Abbey Dore) being known.

The many illustrations, some of which we are able to reproduce, enhance the value and interest of the work, as they consist not only of plans and drawings of the different buildings, but of many full-page photographic *facsimiles* of seals and charters, sepulchral monuments, and sculptured stones.

A chapter is devoted to the sculptured stones peculiar to Margam, illustrated by drawings prepared by Mr. A. G. Langdon from photographs and rubbings taken by himself specially for this work. We give an example of a tomb-slab preserved in the church, the memorial of Robert, Abbot of Rievaulx. This slab exhibits a deeply-incised pastoral staff, or crosier, of exceedingly elegant design, with an inscription in Lombardic capital letters round the sides and lower end of the slab.

For the student of Welsh genealogy this book should have particular attraction, owing to the numerous references to the ancient families of Wales to be



Tomb-slab of Robert, Abbot of Rievaulx.
at Margam

met with in its pages, in extracts from charters and deeds, together with the seals attached to them, of those who, in various ways, had been benefactors to the Abbey. We give a photographic reproduction of the seal of Hugh Le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, as an example of the accuracy with which these illustrations have been produced.

We congratulate Dr. Birch upon the successful completion of a very arduous undertaking. His labours, however, have yielded much valuable and interesting information upon many points which, hitherto, have been obscure in the history of this great Cistercian monastery. The large collection of charters, deeds, and other documents which have been passed in critical review by the author have been by him arranged in strict chronological order, and lucidly described. The work is one which, we think, archæologists generally will appreciate and find of much value.

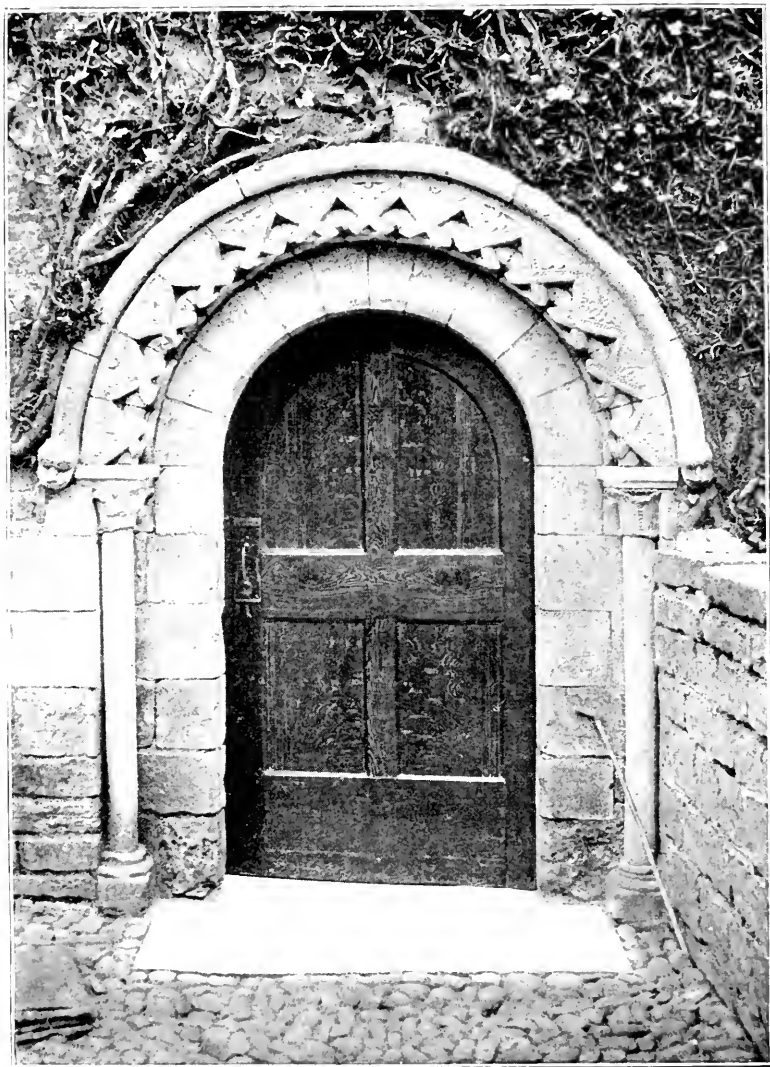
Analecta Eboracensia: or Some Remaynes of the Ancient City of York. By SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON, Recorder of York. Edited by the REV. CÆSAR CAINE. (London: Phillimore and Co.).—Mr. Caine has been already introduced to the Members of this Association and readers of this Journal by the notice of his *Martial Annals of the City of York*, which we gave at the time of its appearance. He has now produced a companion volume to that, which is well worthy to stand beside it in the antiquaries' bookshelf. Widdrington took infinite pains, for a seventeenth-century collector, to prosecute his researches into the history of York by consulting all the available records and originalia, and has produced one of the most thorough and most trustworthy local histories ever written. The present editor has added much, both by way of tracing to their sources numerous statements which required verification, and of supplementing and bringing up to the standard of modern knowledge many points which would otherwise have been left obscure. In fact, it is not too much to say that the editor, by his going over and verifying the paragraphs of the original work, has practically performed a literary task equal in point of labour to that of the original author, whose work he has taken in hand. The result is a very attractive and trustworthy monograph on the ancient city of the North, wherein are dealt with the successive and varying phases of its history, its antiquities, its local manners, customs and traditions; its laws, its saints, its churches, its worthies, its pedigrees, and, in a word, all that gives it a character of its own. The many suggested derivations of the name of the city are recorded and discussed. We prefer that which contains the name in the most simple



PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SEAL OF
HUGH LE DESPENCER, LORD OF GLAMORGAN AND MORGAN.



NORMAN PILLAR IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, YORK.



DOOR OF SINNINGTHWAITE PRIORY.

manner, "the town on the Eure", and are content to leave all others, which are fanciful, legendary, or absurd, to those who have imagined them. The illustrations have much interest in them. We have been able to reproduce those relating to the remains of the Norman church of St. Peter, and the beautiful doorway of Simningthwaite Priory, now a farmhouse. For these, and for the facsimiles of the MS., the editor deserves the highest praise.

How the City of Norwich grew into shape. (With five Maps.)

By the REV. WM. HUDSON, M.A., F.S.A. (Norwich: Agas H. Goose.)
—Mr. Hudson, the editorial secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, was for many years a Norwich vicar, and he has in this handsome quarto given to the public the result of a long-continued and painstaking research into the early history of the chief city of East Anglia, from the mists of prehistoric antiquity down to the end of the thirteenth century, when its "growth" ceased for five hundred years, and its "shaping" was accomplished.

Mr. Hudson has had the advantage in prosecuting his researches not only of excavations on the spot, but of a systematic study of the earliest existing documents relating to the city of Norwich, which are of the thirteenth century, and on the result of this study he bases his conclusions. These documents relate to the conveyance of lands, shops, houses, rents, etc., in the city, and contain a fund of information as to the names of the streets and parishes of that date. From these names, Mr. Hudson argues back to their origin, and is thus enabled to trace the growth of the city. Every visitor to Norwich knows that there are two points of special interest: the Norman Keep (now used as a museum, after having long been a prison), on its lofty mound, which forms the central point of the present city, and the Norman Cathedral, situated in the district known as "Tombland", (*i.e.*, "open" or "vacant" land), a little to the north-east of the castle.

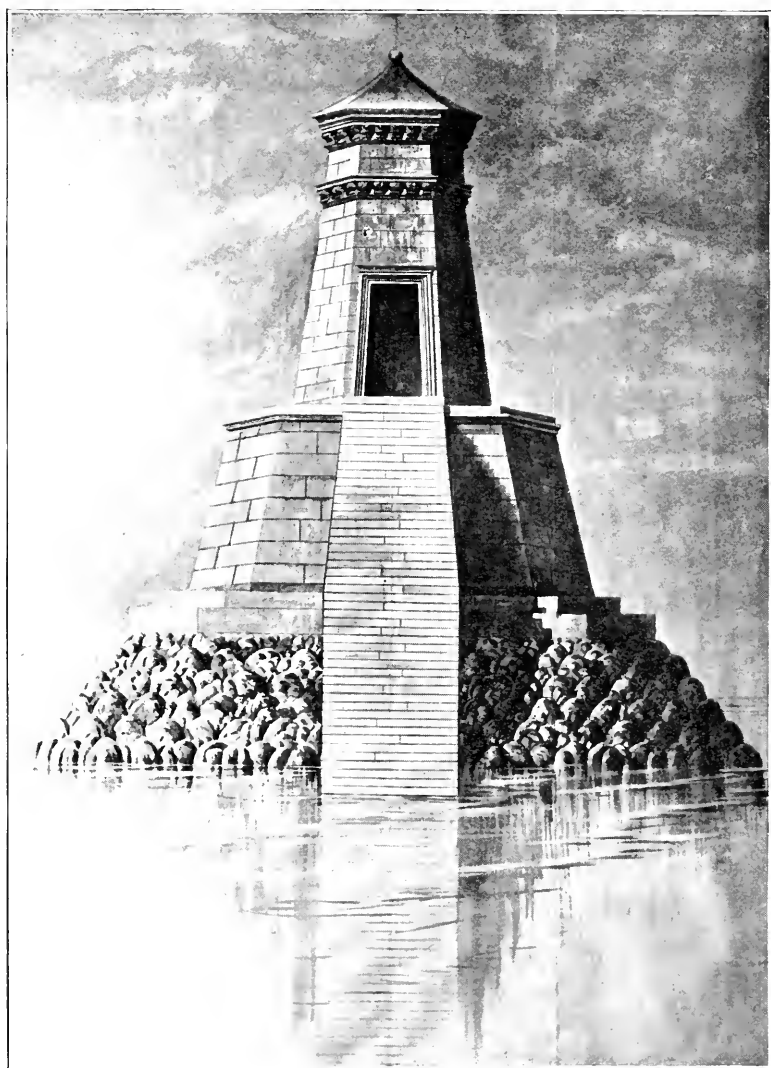
Mr. Hudson shows that the mound on which the castle stands is artificial, and that it was probably first thrown up by an early Danish chieftain to overawe the Anglian residents in a town which was growing up round the district of Tombland, and known as "Conesford", or *King's Ford*. Moreover, the castle mound stands right in the track of a Roman road, known as Berstreet (the paving of which has been found at a depth of 12 ft. below the ground-level of the mound), which ran from the Roman camp at Caistor by Norwich northwards (perhaps to Branodunum, the modern Brancaster), and was joined a little to the eastward of the Cathedral by another Roman road (known as Holmstreet), running eastwards across the Wensum and the marshes

to the great Roman fortress of Burgh Castle and Caister by Yarmouth. There was no British settlement or Roman city on the site of Norwich; the *Venta Icenorum* of Antoninus was probably Caistor by Norwich.

The Anglian "tun" was a small and unimportant one. The Danish chieftain raised his mound, as we have seen, right in the track of the old Roman highway, and round it gradually grew a Danish town, as is attested by the affix "gate" to the majority of the streets, such as "Pottergate", "Hosyergate", "Shereresgate", etc., "gate" being the Danish for "way", "road", or "street". But the curious thing is that the centre of this Anglo-Danish city remained in the district of Tombland. To it all the "gates" trended; there, later on, the palace of the earl was built; and there the market was held. It was not till after the Norman Conquest that a new Norman city grew up to the westward of the castle, when the old Danish fort was transformed into a grand Norman keep, and the market was transferred to the place it still occupies below the castle on the west. Then the earl's palace was destroyed; Tombland became a monastic precinct, and in 1096 A.D. Herbert de Losinga, the first Bishop of *Norwich* (the bishopric having formerly been at Dunham and then at Thetford), commenced to rear the Cathedral, which remains to this day as one of the finest monuments of pure Norman ecclesiastical architecture in our country. Up to a very recent date the four great wards of Norwich told the history of its "growth": "Conesford", the Anglian city by the Wensum, to the south of Tombland: "Coselanye" and "Westwyk", the Danish settlement on either side of the Wensum to the north of the castle; and "Newport", or "Maneroft", the Norman burgh to the west of the castle.

This is an age of specialism; as great attention now being paid to the histories of cities and parishes, as was, up to a few years ago, given to county and district and diocesan ones, and Mr. Hudson is to be congratulated on the very interesting results which have been attained by his researches into the early history of Norwich. We should like to see the same care bestowed upon the history of all our ancient cities, and we feel sure that like interesting results would follow





PRE-ROMAN TEMPLE AT WESTMINSTER.

View of South Elevation, showing Temple, and base of intense strength, with the two bonding damp courses of schist, protected by a breakwater of boulders and steps of ascent from low water mark upwards.

(Author's Copyright.)

See the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum.



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1897.

ON SOME EARLY SETTLERS NEAR CONWAY. THEIR BEAUTIFUL JEWELLERY AND GOLD WORK.

BY J. S. PHENÉ, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Conway Congress, 24th August 1897.)



HOWEVER sparse may be the scraps of information conveyed to us by history in its purely literary form, upon matters which now interest the minds of archaeologists, those scraps, like isolated nuggets of gold, become the more valuable from their rareness. And although intervals of time and distance are numerous and often far-extending, the variety of branches that scientific research has recently opened ramify into the far regions of past times, and the far regions of geographical areas, by which many a hiatus is removed and many a difficulty overcome.

Amongst others, examples of gold-bearing districts of the past will be found to occupy a more interesting position than even the far-famed historical sources of British tin; less on account of the mere value of the material, although that is powerful, than as an indication of art centres; and with art, the civilisation of which art is

sometimes the outcome, sometimes the introducer, according as it is more or less the result of native invention produced by the presence of a beautiful and tractable material ; or, on the other hand, of the presence of skilled artists attracted to localities by the existence of such a material, either in its original native or its imported abundance.

Amongst the connecting features are those arising from traffic in other articles than gold, in which, in days of pure and simple exchange by barter, gold became the article of exchange ; though this would more correctly come under the description of local commercial accumulation.

But from whatever cause gold in ancient or modern times accumulated, there, in those places centralised to a greater or less extent that which has always surrounded gold depôts, viz., allied arts, civilisation, luxury, and often refinement.

As an example. The great traffic in amber along the valley of the Elbe, which conveyed this article of simple beauty from the shores of the Baltic to the mouth of the Danube, and thence to Asia, would not only bring exchange commodities back on the return, but by so doing would open a source of travel which, once established, would continue and increase till some easier or more favourable route came into use : resulting, it may be, from the introduction of new articles of commerce, as in the case of tin, which would affect the course of such route by the position of the market or markets which would become entrepôts for such new articles of commerce, and the new sources of facility of travel to them.

As gold, long treasured before tin and iron became known, would have been probably the primitive article of commerce, so the gold districts would have been the early centres of advance, though inferior, of course, to the greater centres of its earlier abundance.

In the British Islands, and those of the North Sea, highly artistic articles of very ancient work in gold have been found, and are now treasured in the museums of Scandinavia and the numerous museums of these islands.

Science steps in to aid the subject, and by analysis

shows clearly that the locality whence this gold was obtained was Ireland.

Ireland, being the more remote of the British islands from the Baltic traffic and the great European river valley traffic, would, *primâ facie*, in itself have attracted later attention; but the universal desire for gold would, on its being known to exist there, have raised it in the estimation of the merchants of the precious metals in a sense far exceeding the obstacle arising from its distance. Yet the latter difficulty would for a long period prevent its colonisation by foreign workers in gold and other precious metals; though such craftsmen would settle as near to it as possible. I have little doubt that the charge of cannibalism against the Irish was to deter merchants, other than those to whom its gold was known, from visiting that island, just as the Congress of Merchants tried by deception to deter Caesar's visit to Britain.

In my Papers, read to the Congress of the British Archaeological Association at Manchester, in 1894, and again at Winchester and Stoke-upon-Trent, as well as in several Papers read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, I have repeatedly drawn attention to the smelting-houses, crucibles, and other features indicating the presence of skilled metallurgists and assayists, from Holyhead to Kent; and perhaps on a grander scale along the west coast of Great Britain, from high up in Scotland on the east as well as the west coasts, to one solitary example south of the English Channel in Brittany, in the formation of—or more probably the use of—the Vitrified “Forts”, the early examination of which occupied me nearly half a century ago, as described in my paper in the *British Archaeological Journal* in June 1894.

These vitrified objects are chiefly on the west coast and in the north, along which coast the marine metal traffic would have been most fully developed. From the large amount of slag described by me in the *Journal* as found in these so-called “Forts”—slag which was closely similar to that at Hissarlik on the Trojan plains—the evidences in favour of their use for smelting the less valuable metals in them become powerful. The mere fact of one

such object existing near the mouth of the Severn and one almost opposite to that on the coast of Brittany, is strongly indicative of tin and copper from Devonshire and Cornwall being smelted there.

Along these lines of vitrified structures are also found unique erections called in Scotland "Brocks". They are closely similar to the Nuraghi of Sardinia, which modern searchers consider, with reasonable evidences, were store-houses for metal, corn, and commercial objects, as places of security from piratical attacks. There are accounts of, and my surveys show, still existing structures similar to the Brocks and the Nuraghi in Cornwall, though little known.

But to return to Ireland as a land of gold and the precious metals. There are traditions of so remarkable a kind, that, whether mythical or not, they at least attest a belief in skilled metallic art of so high a class in that country, that there must have been high metallic skill there for the very traditions to have taken root in the popular mind: as that of the silver hand worn by a maimed warrior, every joint of the fingers of which acted as completely as the natural hand.

The abundance of gold was such that the monoliths of worship were surmounted or crowned with gold, so that analysis, tradition, history, and the precious gold artistic work in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, all indicate that pure and fine gold was one of the great products of Ireland. Indeed, so late as the last century (1796) the gold washings in the county of Wicklow produced £10,000.

This being so, it is less surprising to find high-class smelting-houses, crucibles, and apparatus on the route from Ireland through Britain, than the so-called "Forts", which if so used would have been for metals of larger bulk and grosser combinations than the more refined and precious metals. It is in this neighbourhood that such relics have been discovered, in Holyhead and its vicinity.

It is hardly necessary to point out what is so well known from recent experience in the British-Colonial gold fields, that production of gold from washing follows previous acquisition from masses or nuggets of gold; and

it may safely be inferred that in early times gold found in Ireland was of much easier acquisition than by washing or crushing ore.

It follows that the attractions of gold would have brought colonists from remote countries: colonists who understood the nature and value of the metal, and who so understanding it would have been associated with workers in the precious metals.

The gold would not require smelting like baser metals, but it would be necessary to melt it to form ingots, or portions for easy transit. Caesar describes the "taleis", or metal spikes used in this country for barter or in currency, and adds the word "ferreis", showing that iron spikes were used by the common people; a certain number formed a drachma,¹ or handful, so that the size is apparent. This was a form of Greek money, and, as in the precious metals uniformity of weight and size would be essential, the so-called smelting-houses were probably places for furnaces simply to melt and cast the gold to secure equal value by uniformity of size and weight. Gold so prepared, in small bars, would have been safer and easier for conveyance as merchandise.

But this brings the subject to the great roads of approach to "Old Ireland" in pre-Roman times.

There were two great roads: that by the Ic-nield Way, and that by Watling Street, with their tributaries.

These ways used by the Iceni, or rather Ic-eni, long before the advent of Julius Caesar on these shores, were perhaps even then adopted by the Iceni and other trading colonists, as they were subsequently adopted by the Romans, and hence popularly called Roman Roads. They were only Roman by Roman use, as they were probably only Icenic by Icenic use. They ramify far back into the mist of ages. Here literary aid almost fails, but archaeological and analytical scientists supplement it.

Beautiful jewellery has been found by both these roads, and even by some of their offshoots. It will be interesting to trace these works to the dates and the makers to

¹ See my Paper in the *Journal* on "Old London".

which they belong and from whom they issued. The work is of a very high class : so high that it proves the dates to be very remote, and gives evidence of great culture and civilisation at such remote times.

These works must be attributed to one of three origins: Either they were of NATIVE GROWTH, which would imply thousands of years of progressive art to account for such skill and perfection; or they were wrought by foreign settlers in the British Islands; or they were articles imported in traffic and came by commercial barter.

The latter view would bear a *primâ facie* probability, but that there are no articles by other national makers sufficiently similar to compare them with. Let us leave them at this point, and perhaps return to it after examining the two other sources.

The first of the three suggested origins would go back to so very early a date that, old as I am convinced art was in the British Islands, I should hesitate to adopt it in face of the more probable hypothesis of foreign colonists, who were gold merchants, and who, if not so skilled themselves, would have in their trains analysts and gold-workers.

That such workers in gold were skilled in the various arts of metallurgy there can be no doubt, and that those arts were perhaps the highest of their day, save only the cutting of gems, seems clear. If so, to arrive at a fair conclusion it is necessary to examine, if not the same style of ornamentation—which is difficult from want of examples—at least those approximating to the style and nature of the art.

Recent enquirers have discovered by close investigation a new field for the origin of art, which includes the metal work in question.¹

As we go back in date from the present time, literature again supports the subject.

Homer describes (*Iliad*, B. xi, ll. 15-40), a breastplate worn by Agamemnon, on each side of which were three

¹ See observations by Sir John Evans, on "Spirals"; his son, on "Excavations in Crete"; Dr. Montelius on "Ancient Scandinavian Gold Art and Trade".

artistic dragons, *in colours like rainbows* (ἵρισιν εὐκότες). Also on his armour a triple-headed dragon of an *azure* colour. Κυάνος is rendered *azure*, and ranges from sky-blue to violet, even including purple, but beyond that the word is not translatable, as the *material is unknown*. Its deepest blue has μέλας, black, coupled with it. From the *rainbow* appearance of these decorative dragons there can be little doubt that the material was enamel.

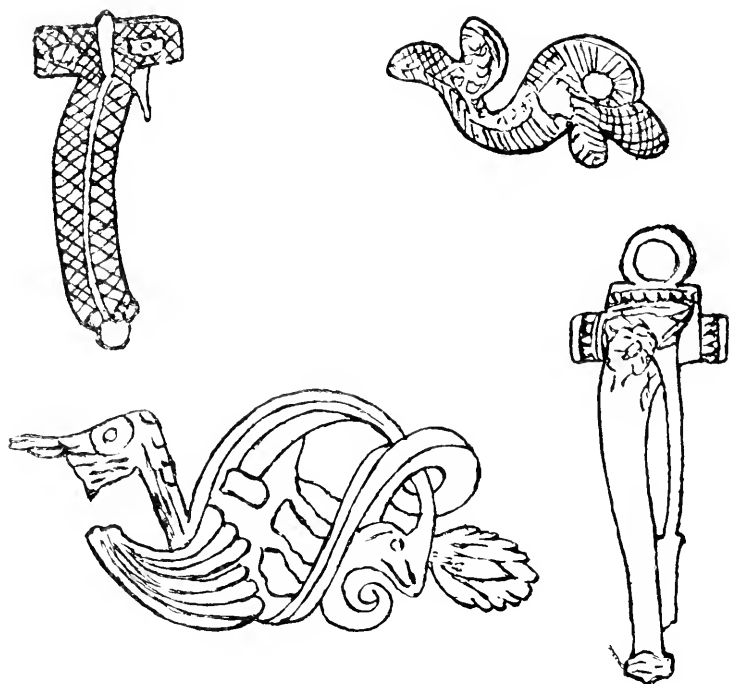
Theophrastes compares Κυάνος to the sapphire, others to lapis lazuli; there were light (transparent) and dark "glossy" kinds of the blue.

Near the Bosphorus, Herodotus mentions enormous works of bronze. Close at hand were the Κυανέαν, or Cyanean Islands, probably so called from enamel works there. They appear to have been prolific in copper, and so, like Cyprus, would have been sought by enamellers. The whole rocks are green from the presence of copper. The Cyanean Islands were dedicated to Apollo.

This is curious in connection with the dedication of Thorney to Apollo. He was a god who guarded treasure, as succeeding the Python at Delphi, and bore the name of the Python in consequence. Hence the two Orme's Heads, at Llandudno, were doubly significant, and indicate the dedication of that locality to him. The place-names around indicate this. Some are: Abbor-Molech, Saturn's Wood, Saturn's Well, Isis Stone, etc. The capital of the Trinobantes was, like Delphi, an emporium of wealth, which latter contained two-and-a-half millions sterling. Conway was the pass for Irish gold, and seems to have been equally dedicated to the guardian of treasure.

In the shield made by Vulcan at the request of Thetis, Κυάνος (Κυανέην) was used, which perhaps led Chapman to the "20 colours" in the shield and the "100 hues" of the helmet of Achilles, as it has been likened to the iridescence of the swallow's feathers and those of the kingfisher. The material must have been enamel, with which the Homeric and pre-Homeric ages seem to have been enriched. The arts of Cyprus, of Assyria and Persia mingled, and enamelling was one of them. The designs as to colours found on the British Islands seem

unique, but the process by which they were made appears identical, as the metal was heated in the fire by Vulcan before the colours were produced.—*Iliad*, B. xviii, ll. 473-5 (see p. 260, *infra*). The forms, however, are, like the Greek, dragonesque.



Examples.

Homer states that this grand breastplate was made in Cyprus (Kupros, whence the best copper was obtained), hence probably the base of the enamelled work was bronze.

The amalgam of Achilles's armour, of "an hundred colours", was made of silver and gold, as well as tin and copper-bronze.

It is in the islands in this part of the Greek waters that recent discoveries indicate a special and very early art of apparently native but high artistic merit, and it is named Mykenaeen, as its relations with Mykenae seemed to centre the art there; and this art certainly included

the art of enamelling. I believe I possess the only piece of enamel found at Mykenae. It is *azure*, like the dragon worn by Agamemnon, and appeared to be a part of a casket to hold the two crystal spheres found in the deepest tomb on the Acropolis of that city, and called by Schliemann the tomb of Agamemnon, from the bottom of which tomb I removed it—it had been overlooked by him. I produced it in Sackville Street with my other finds from excavations in Argolis, etc.¹

Now the enamelled jewellery found on the great roads through Britain to Ireland is enamel of the most intense colouring and brilliancy, really resembling the “colours” of the “rainbow”.

Conway is surrounded by places in which relics of these rich gold works of art and beautifully enamelled bronze jewellery have been found. A torque of fine twisted gold was found in 1692, 8 oz. in weight, at Harlech, in Merionethshire. A *flexible* gold torque weighing upwards of *three pounds* was found at Patterham, in Shropshire, the Welsh frontier county. In the museum at Chester are specimens of the magnificent gold breastplate found at Mold, in Flintshire. On Snowdon a quantity of bronze work has been found secreted, and a gold torque at Cader Idris. At Croes Atti, in Flintshire, an elaborately decorated torque, having discs of solid gold, and blue (*azure*) enamel alternately, together with the raw material for this enamelling (a blue vitreous material described as “glass”), with rings, delicate instruments for high-class art, as engraved in Pennant’s *Welsh Tour*, vol. i. A magnificently designed and richly enamelled fibula was found at Risingham, in Northumberland. This name, as Rising, Risborough, etc., occurs on the Ic-nield Way and in the Icenic country.

Near Newburgh, in Anglesea, a quantity of glass rings, evidently — notwithstanding the popular superstition respecting them—being further examples of the raw material for enamelling.

Mr. Pennant also describes the very extensive copper workings in Anglesea, as well as prolific lead and *silver*

¹ See my Paper on “Researches in Argolis, Phocis, Boeotia, and other parts of Greece”, in the *Journal*.

works; while recently, in Merionethshire, the gold nuggets are stated to value, in the aggregate, £36,000. And £20,000 a year from the gold workings for several consecutive years point to former auriferous abundance in Wales.¹ The examination of Mr. Owen Stanley's estate at Holyhead revealed a number of furnaces, slag, metal, and surroundings connected with pre-historic remains, indicating their great antiquity. The copper workings, for bronze, in *The Great Orme's Head*;² the route of the Senonese to Ireland by the large settlement Sinmodune, or Senodun, about a mile from Conway, as mentioned by Leland, vol. v, 49; and at *Llys Fâen*, a few miles to the east of Conway, a superb gold ring, finely enamelled, and one rough, ready for the enameller, indicate the whole district as one producing the materials in metal, with the manufacture of the raw material, and its application to the art of enamelled jewellery.

In the museum at Chester are also two pre-historic bronze pins, found in very small urns indicating *precious deposits*, in *pre-Roman graves*, and bearing some indications of having been enamelled.

In my lengthened and repeated travels in Greece and my voyages in the Aegean Seas, in search for Mykenaeen and Trojan relics, in which I was most successful, the accompanying view of the range of Mount Olympos was taken by me at various intervals of fine weather, being probably the only view of the entire range ever published.

The goldsmiths were raised in Wales to the rank of nobility.

The word Gorsed, Gor sed (sedes), appears to mean the highest, the supreme, the golden seat or throne.

The Gorsed was like the Eastern Durbar, to which all the chiefs, princes, and kinglets were summoned, and in which the goldsmiths or metallurgists were allowed a seat of nobility.

¹ Tacitus and Strabo describe "gold", "silver", etc., as British products.

² A Phoenician coin was found here not many years ago, and was in the possession of Rev. Owen Jones of Llandudno; but, on his death, it was most unfortunately lost.—Ed.

MT. PELION.

MT. OSSA.

MT. OLYMPUS.

VIEW FROM THE GULF OF SALONICA.

Taken in the Author's six months' voyage in his native yacht amongst the Greek Islands and Coasts.
From the Author's Travels. See "Researches and Excavations in Argolis, Phocis, Boeotia and other parts of Greece."—*Brit. Arch. Journal*, 1895.

See various papers on "The Troad," "The Seven Churches of Asia," "Patmos," &c.—*Brit. Arch. Journal*.
Also "Dendrophoria" (Tree Transporting).—*Transactions Royal Society of Literature*, 1897.

“Tri Meib Rhydd o Gaeth,
Bardd, Ysgolhaig, a Gôf.”

“Hymny a phymmag au medro,
braint iddo fonedd a Brodoriaeth
a Thrywdded Cymro.”

“Tri dyn a gyfanneddant Lys”
(Llys), “Bardd, gof, a Thelynor.”

“There are three persons free
from bond, a Bard ; a scholar ;
and a smith, and each is entitled
to the privileges of nobility”, and
“social rights of a Cymro.” More
literally : Nobility (or splendour)
to whosoever is proficient in those
arts. Rank and dignity to him,
and the staff (or sceptre) of social
rights, and a pass through the
Cymru.

“Three men who constitute a
court, a Bard ; a smith ; and a
harpist.”

The great officers could pass through any armed hostile force in their azure robes : azure was their sacred colour.

The strong Edwardian castles show that, till Edward I, this way was still held as a pass by the descendants of the Druids and Aurdovicae.

These preserved rules were amongst those for the preservation of which the recorder received a “Bardic tiara in Gold” at the Eisteddvod in 1858, together with “a very high encomium” ; they were published by the Welsh MSS. Society ; some of the words are very ancient, and only appear in Dr. Pughe’s original dictionary, and not in the modern edition.

Well might the goldsmiths be so ennobled, if, as is probable from Caesar’s account of the Eastern “articles of luxury” brought by the Greeks to the Rhine, such articles were exchanged in Britain for the Welsh torques made of Irish gold.

Livy states that from one Gaulish tribe alone, the Boii, the Romans took 1470 gold torques, all, judging from recent analysis, being of Irish produce and Welsh make.

These *flexible* necklets, which appear only to have been made by the Aurdovicae from the peculiarly pliant quality of the Irish gold, are mentioned by Virgil as of great antiquity, as he describes them as worn by the Trojan youths in the funeral games in Sicily, under Aeneas (*Æneid*, v. l, 559), thus establishing the connection between Italy and Britain in remote times, as well as their trade in gold ; so that the Greek enamels mentioned

by Homer and this *flexible* gold work were both placed by the ancients in the Trojan era.

The gold work of Irish-Welsh make also agrees with the Trojan period, as well as the *Κυάνος*, or enamel. Thus, in *Il.*, xiii, ll. 25-6, Neptune is described as using a *well-wrought golden whip* to his horses of the sea.

ἰμάσθλην χρυσείην, εὐτυκτον,

Such an idea as the usable lash of a whip wrought in gold could never have been expressed had not the gold

Fig. 1.—Gold Corselet.
Mold, Flintshire.

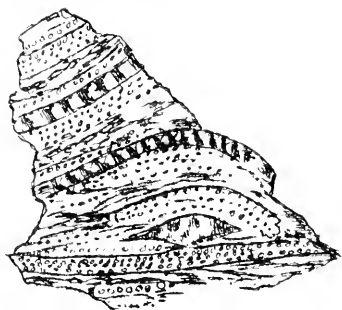


Fig. 2.—Gold Whip-Knot.
Ireland.

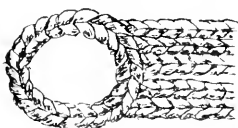


Fig. 3.—Gold Whip-Knot.
Ireland.



Fig. 4.—Gold Band.
Early Greek (Boeotian).

work of the Trojan period been of a nature so pliant as to warrant it. In the illustrations of Irish gold work, two examples are so wrought that they appear to have been made to be used as whips or lashes, Figs. 2 and 3.

The terminal band, decorated with small spherical bosses, is the same in the Irish, Welsh, and Greek examples, Fig. 4.

In Hesiod's poem "The Shield of Hercules", the latter is described as attiring himself in just such a golden corselet as that found at Mold in Flintshire, Fig. 1.

... . θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνε,
Καλὸν, χρυσεῖον, πολυδαίδαλον.—ll. 124-5.

("He put on his breast a beautiful corselet of elaborately-worked gold.")

Such a gold breastplate from Mykenae is referred to in Schuchardt's *Schliemann*, fig. 256.

Fig. 4 is Hesiodic or Boeotian work, or prior to the Trojan war.

Hesiod was a Boeotian, and in this Poem he also describes the shield as enriched with *amber*, *ηλεκτρον*,¹ showing traffic with the Baltic, uses the word *Κυάνος* (enamel), and also applies it to the serpents on the shield, used to produce an apparent motion of life from the iridescent glittering, as enamel.

A most elaborately-decorated torque, Fig. 5, was found at Wendover, Berks., on the raised pre-Roman road known as "The Devil's Highway", between the last two great camps along the Ridgway line, and in the direction of the Ic-nield Way.

Figs. 6 and 7 (p. 254) represent a brooch from Mykenae and part of a Saxon brooch, as though the Greek designs in the British Islands had even descended to the Saxons, whose colouring in enamel was also equally rich.

The communication between Britain and Gaul was great. Caesar describes the Gaulish youths being sent here for education. The Druids elevated these foreign artists in metal to their own rank. No wonder the Druids furnished no records. Their political and commercial relations, quite as much as their worship, required secrecy.

That the Iceni were closely connected with the Aurdovicae is evident from the Icenic outbreak and massacre of Romanised tribes, as the result of Suetonius attacking the sacred seat of the Druids and gold-workers

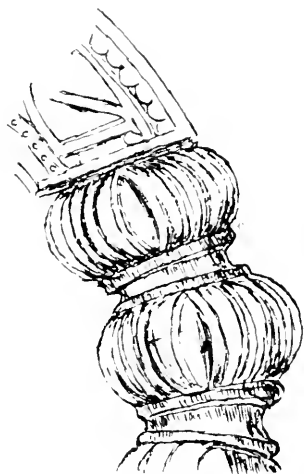


Fig. 5.—Gold Torque.
Wendover, Berks.

¹ When *electrum* is in connection with ivory, gypsum, and such delicate articles, it is considered to be amber, not metal. Homer mentions a necklace with gold and amber beads.

—Anglesea. The pre-Roman Icenic gold coinage is thus easily accounted for, both the metal and artificers being *locally* British. It agrees so closely with the early British gold coins found at the western end of the Icenild way (Karn Bré in Cornwall), and published by Mr. Borlase as very early pre-Roman British gold coins, that the Icenic traffic there, also for gold, seems clear.

Further on, in the track of the part of Watling Street leading by its tributaries to the Humber, the Tyne, and

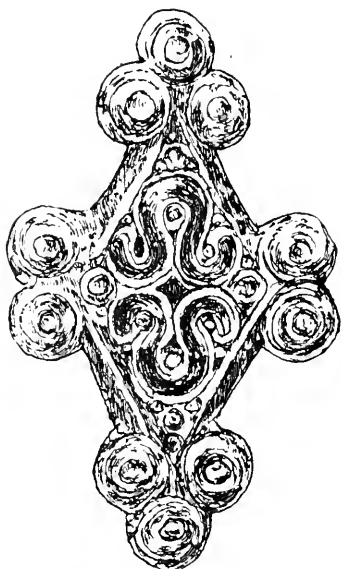


Fig. 6.—Gold Ornament.
Mykenae Sepulchre.



Fig. 7.—Part of a Saxon Brooch.

even to the Forth, three of the great commercial ports of pre-Roman Britain, and which unite Conway with the North and South British eastern ports, making this route to Ireland the chief in importance, similar relics from Westmoreland and Yorkshire, Brough Castle, Kirby Thorne, etc., furnished richly-enamelled brooches of Greek design, with diamonds of blue enamel intersected with triangles of red, the bronze being gilt, thus giving the "rainbow colours" mentioned by Homer. Some of the jewellery was plated with silver, some with gold; thus, with the enamel, giving evidence of arts which must

have been introduced and not spontaneously indigenous in Britain. Such plating by silver and gold is mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. With the Renaissance, enamelling on silver was brought to great excellence in Italy, of which I have magnificent works. Examples of these Welsh enamels are in the British Museum, and those of Giggleswick, Leeds, Chester, etc.; and also in the private hands of proprietors and discoverers in the respective localities, and in the Glastonbury Museum.

At Settle, in Yorkshire, a cave named the Victoria Cave, from its discovery in the year and on the day of the coronation of Her Majesty, was discovered by Mr. J. Jackson. The cave had been used as a refuge at two periods, as shown by an intervening coating of stalagmite; the more recent one at a time, as proved by certain coins, as late as say 500 A.D. But the earlier refugees had taken with them articles of beauty in high art and luxury (including rich enamels and those of a coarser kind), which may have been treasured by them as antiques, and are by no means to be assigned to the dates of the coins from which nature had separated them by a covering of lime-crystal, or stalagmite. The lower part of the lowest stratum indicated a Neolithic period.

The name Welsh in itself means foreigners, properly "Walsh". This shows that the whole was an incursive body. But the people of North Wales were evidently further distinguished by their occupation.

No explanation has been given of the name under which North Wales was anciently known from its inhabitants, called Ordovicæ, or Ordevices, a people like those now recognised as colonists, introducing Greek and Asiatic trees and customs into Western Europe¹; in each case living in proud seclusion in mountainous districts. Mr. Camden suggests that it was known to the Greeks, and mis-spelled, but the word he substitutes, "Genouthia", does not help the inquiry.

It has been shown that the country was highly auri-

¹ See my Paper on "Dendrophoria", *Transactions*, Royal Society of Literature, 1897, and Sir George Birdwood's Report to the Indian Government, on the "Introduction of Trees into Western Europe".

ferous, and the occupants gold-workers and enamellers in the Greek style. A very slight divergence from the classical seems to meet the case.

The Latin *aurum* and the late Greek word *αυρον*, gold, are indicative; the *αυρ* (aur), would soon be corrupted into "or"; as in French, "*or*"; Spanish "*añreo*" and "*oro*"; Italian "*oro*". These, and the Welsh "*aur*", and the Irish "*ó'r*", are clearly abbreviations of *aurum*. *Δωρεω* (doreo), to give, follows. The ρ (r) in certain dialects, as the Aeolic, often had as an initial β (B), which, as an initial, would in some cases supersede it. B and v are mutative, as in Bara, or Fara (the letter F giving the sound v in Welsh), Vara-bread, the Bay of Biscay, or Viscaya; also in Greek, in Romaic, Ger. *silber*, Eng. *silver*, etc.; if so *doreo* or *dorea* would become *dorea* or *doria*, and Aurdoria (Aurdobia) or Aurdovia, would mean the gold-giving land of the Aurdovicae, or Ordovicae.¹

Sarn Helen, a way of the Aurdovicae, is evidently so ancient that it would be more reasonable to attribute it to the Greeks (Hellenes) than to the Mother of Constantine. It has distinctly Etruscan features, and is, I think, certainly Graeco-Etruscan.

Geographically, the gold of Ireland, Wales, and other parts of Britain are the same, and the gold rush to Sutherlandshire is fresh in the memory of many.

There are, then, close around Conway, evidences of Italian colonists, as the Graeco-Italian Senones, and not far off the Graeco-Italian Vennones,² who also certainly traded for gold between the Rhaetian Alps and Britain. The Verones also (clearly from their name people of Northern Italy), who settled in Spain for its metal traffic, would have traded here. The finds of magnificent gold

¹ It must be borne in mind that the above variations arise from oral and colloquial corruptions of an enforced *lingua-franca* as strongly indicated by the late use of "*αυρον*" (evidently a Graeco-Italian word) in lieu of "*χρυσον*" in Greek.—See my Paper on "Graeco-Italian Synonymes in Britain", Royal Society of Literature; also Prof. Donaldson's "Varronianus", and Canon Taylor and Lord Balcarras on "Etruscan Inscriptions".

² See my Paper at Manchester, 1894, and at the British Association at Leeds in 1890.

work and enamelled jewellery of the Greek type, historically shown to have been made in Britain; the evidences that the people of North Wales were a proud, peculiar, warlike, immigrant people; adaptive, artistic, seclusive, drawn here in all probability by the gold of the district and of Ireland.

So much for the articles found. But who shall tell of the countless objects discovered and not estimated before their historic value was understood? Who of the innumerable objects of gold devoted to the melting-pot? which has probably been the destination of the magnificent "gold and jewelled" (enamelled) coronet found on the Welsh side of the Herefordshire Beacon some years ago. Who of the pretty enamels treated as toys, ornaments, and trinkets by people who looked on them as nothing better than things of pastime or decorations for their children?¹ Who of the acquisitions silently secreted to avoid the claim of Treasure Trove? Who of the many objects still buried by accident or intent, which time may yet reveal to us?²

Now that it is established that these exquisite enamels were made in Britain, a most mysterious difficulty is solved: one that has exercised the minds of antiquaries and historians for ages, and one that, from the reliability of its author, Pliny, could not be set aside. The "*ovum anguinum*", or "serpent's egg" made by *serpents* collected together and "*hissing*", is, although various in form, always formed of glass in elegant designs and colours; in short, the glass and the colours of which the enamels were made, several of which latter represent the serpent and dragon; the *ovum anguinum* also simulating coloured serpents in designs upon it. The Graeco-Etruscan and Ligurian people worshipped the serpent in particular, and their priests would be called serpents. The art would certainly have been a secret if not sacred art, and

¹ Borlase relates the fact that brass (bronze) Roman coins, found in Cornwall, were given to children for toys, as being of no value. They would now be treasured.

² "Only five finds out of 50,000 (of a special metal work) having reached any public or private museum."—Prof. Dr. George Stephens, *Northern Mythology*.

their meetings would be periodical at a particular "phase of the moon", as related by Pliny. The "hissing" attending the making of the glass *orum*, or egg, would be from the furnace, perhaps even from blow-pipes,¹ and the fortunate recipient would probably hold it as the badge of being the chief till the next assembly (*gorsedd*).

The "*Orcum Anguinum*", no doubt emblematic of the mundane egg, which figured so largely in mythology and history, was purely Welsh, or, rather, Aurdovicaean in origin; and the glass beads and rings found in Anglesea indicate that as the seat, or one of the seats, of its manufacture. It was, in short, the precious and sacred enamel, and its preservation in a gold box, or covering, as described by Pliny, connects it with the gold work of the district; the two arts being clearly equally sacred and practised by the same artistic workers.² So numerous were these beads formerly in North Wales, that it was an occupation to search for them for sale. Many were conveyed to other places in Britain, and even distant parts of Europe. Everything in this locality bears the impress of such resident colonists. The name Aurdovicae, the gold-givers or producers; the customs of these people; the retention of Greek words; the place-names around Orme's Head, which merely drops the initial *v* of the old Ligurian "*verme*", turned into *w* in English, there being no *v* in Greek or Welsh, though they each have the Θ (*theta*), or ТН; Ormskirk, Morecambe Bay, etc., all more or less Scandinavian; and as my Paper, at Stoke-upon-Trent, shows, the Scandinavians before so-named were traders in metal with Etruria, and would necessarily also have Greek and Italian merchants with them in their visits here.

Jewellery is still sacred with some nations.

Mrs. Wood, of Bodlondeb, Conway, laid on the table,

¹ "Ai chwythu y glain y maent?" "Are they blowing beads?" is a Welsh saying when persons lay their heads together in consultation.

² The ancient Welsh records state of the glass beads—(*glain nadroedd*), that the three orders of priests and nobility wore them uniform in colour with their respective robes. Pliny states that "Britain even now celebrates ceremonies of Magism so wonderfully that it may seem to have imparted them to the Persians rather than received them from them"; indicating great civilization in ancient Britain.

during the lecture, a very elegant piece of gold work enriched with emeralds and rubies, taken from a camel's neck in Egypt. This the lecturer identified as a form of talisman or sacred charm, similar to what he had seen round the necks of camels in Arabia and Phrygia: they generally cover, or contain, a text from the Koran.

The late President of the Society of Antiquaries classed this fine enamelled work as "late Celtic". But this is to assume *an original native school of art*, which I have avoided because, as explained, it involves an enormous period of progressive culture, going back to periods coeval with the earliest Mykenaeon art; and it is inconceivable that two schools of art of identically the same kind, and so remote from each other, should spontaneously have sprung up at the same remote era: the more so as the one had all the pre-existing ages of art culture in Egypt and Asia as a basis for its school, and the other could have had no such aid.

It is much more probable that, with the very early Greek migrations to the coast of Italy, skilled art-workers reached that country from the Mykenaeon centres; and thence, attracted by the gold of the far-western island, established themselves and worked their furnaces for reducing or for casting gold near there, and filled up the intervals by making the beautiful enamels of which those found on these great high roads may have been perpetuations.

But it is not necessary even to assume the latter point in the case of the more choice specimens discovered. Later and ruder examples, as horse-trappings, may have been, and probably were, perpetuations of an older art. The ancients prized antiquities as much as the moderns do, as related by Virgil, *Æd.*, B. v, ll. 533-8, and the deposit, in a more recent grave, of precious objects having a sacred or mythical character, but of great antiquity, would only increase the solemnity of their deposition, without in way affecting their antiquity. — *Æd.*, B. v, l. 47.

Some of these beautiful objects are, it is admitted, neither Roman nor Teutonic in design; in short, they

belong to no known school, but assimilate to the high art of the Mykenae school.

Canon Greenwell's late explorations in Yorkshire have produced an example; he states, and no doubt correctly, that an *enamelled* pin, beautiful in *design* and *execution*, which he exhumed, was from a *pre-Roman grave*, and considers it a *specimen of British art*. No doubt it is, but by foreign residents, for the reasons already given; as were the two similar pins in the museum at Chester.

This brings the subject nearer to a point. It takes it away from the Roman period, and if so, the pin was necessarily made in, or else imported into, Britain. Not late Keltic in any case, but pre-Roman, and if so, how long antecedent to the Roman invasion? The term "*late Celtic*" implies more ancient and preceding work, to which these enamels belong.

It is clear that this art of intensely rich parti-coloured enamelling was a lost art, and was altogether forgotten in Greece in the Roman period, and not even known to the Romans, though they had heard of it as a British art. From the surprise expressed by Philostratus, a Greek at the court of Severus, who states, "It is said that the Barbarians, living in (*i.e.*, surrounded by) the ocean, pour these colours (the enamels) on heated bronze,¹ that they then combine and become as hard as stone, and the designs are permanent", it is clear that the art then stood alone as British. The recent discovery in the Glastonbury village throws additional light on the subject. With a quantity of delicate articles in bronze (130 in number) were found three articles in amber, about twenty crucibles, fifteen specimens of glass, including three *azure* beads, and spindle whorls and weaver's weights, in all 128, like those at Hissarlik. The amber proves traffic with the Baltic. The glass was clearly the rough material for pouring on the bronze to form the coloured enamels. The crucibles imply analysis of the precious metals, and the fine bronze work accords with the bronze of the British

¹ See p. 248, *supra*.

chariots lately found by Canon Greenwell in the pre-Roman graves, carrying these dwellings back to pre-Roman times. The place was fortified, showing occupation by foreigners.

In my Paper at Manchester, I mentioned some of the settlements in the West of England occupied by Græco-Italian tribes. It has been too customary to describe tribal and immigrating peoples as being Gauls, Tentons, Britons, etc., simply because they were located in Gaul, Germany, or Britain. A careful examination of Caesar will show that this was not so, and the foreign colonists in Britain were so closely connected with Rome, as allies or enemies, that Greek or Italian origin is evident. Amongst others, the Senones had a settlement in one of the islands on this coast—Holyhead probably. Their settlement near Conway proves this to have been their route, and excavations at that spot would probably throw light on art and pre-Roman history.

Several islands on the Atlantic seaboard, in localities not so advanced as at this place, are still occupied by apparent descendants of the original inhabitants: as Ile d'Ouessant off Brittany, Bardsea Island in Wales, Inismurray on the Irish coast.

The latter is inhabited by people unlike those on the coast, and who are considered to be Tuatha de Danaans.

This is another example of Greek words, and it is picturesquely descriptive. Mr. Gladstone points out that the word "Danaoi" is equivalent to martial, as it is always applied to warriors; and tenthos (τενθος) is a many-armed fish, as the cuttle-fish. The early Scandinavians called their vessels by the name of the water-snake, dragon, etc., in short, a sea-monster. The cuttle-fish, when large, agrees with this exactly. An enormous one, eight feet across the body, just caught in Norway, and now in the museum at Trondhjem, answers this description, so that it means the many-armed warriors of the Dragon-ship, precisely equivalent to their armed ships. It is not improbable that *Danaoi*, warriors, always used in the plural, was the older form given to the sanguinary and fighting Danes, always so also used in

the plural.¹ This appears also to have been the route of the Tuatha de Danaans, as I am indebted to the Mayor of Conway, Dr. R. A. Prichard, for the information that there is still a place in Caernarvonshire bearing the name Dennio. The *e* would be sounded as *a*, and the *io* is simply a common transposition; the internal *a* has been lost by this transposition.

It is quite reasonable to conclude that the Greeks who visited and settled in Italy (called Magna Grecia from the fact of these Greek settlements), and who, as shown by Sir George Birdwood, gave Greek names to their settlements in Italy, even before Italy was geographically distinguished as apart from Greece, and who can still be traced in their course westward, even to the shores of the Atlantic by their sacred trees, which still bear the names of the tribes who brought them, and by the descendants of these wanderers, who still retain their customs, words, and even tribal names,² and who colonised not only Italy, but the shores of the great inland sea to the Pillars of Hercules, and who even now form political sections in Western Europe, and whose local vernacular abounds in Greek words, the very word "*patois*" being one, but corrupted, that these Greeks, who Caesar says continued in his time to furnish articles of "luxury and civilization" "from beyond the seas" to the Gauls, even to the Rhine, should have been commercial visitants to Britain, and have brought with them their expert assayists, gold-founders, jewellers and enamellers.

But ethnology comes to support the case at this point. The large quantity of Basque or Iberian³ *crania* found in

¹ See the *Saxon Chronicle*.

² As in my Paper on "Golden Apples", read before this Association, and my Paper on "Dendrophoria" in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature.

³ *I.e.*, Neolithic, of which early race the Basques are now considered to be the modern representatives. Even as far back as the "Palaeolithic Period", as pointed out by Sir John Evans, at Toronto, "harpoons of reindeers' horn and needles of bone, identical in form and character with those of the caverns of the Reindeer Period in the South of France" were found "in Kent's Cavern at Torquay—in the lowest deposit", "suggestive of some bond of union" between people "so widely separated geographically".

these islands shows a largely mixed population of *dolichocephalic* and *brachycephalic* occupants. The one is generally considered Basque, the other or superior class has been by some hastily conjectured to represent Gauls. But the Graeco-Italian *crania* approximate to the higher type, with a curious exception: a feature termed by Dr. Pruner-Bey "Mongoloid". As the early Greeks derived many of their religious customs from 'Taurica,'¹ and the people of the latter were associated with Mongoloid populations, this feature is not surprising. To this day, the one people are those of servitude, the other dominant.

That the Iberian population were imported as mere workers seems very probable; they are so still, while the Graeco-Italian and Graeco-Gallic populations are wealthy and luxurious.

Evidences other than those of *crania* crop up occasionally, and in and amongst the discoveries of gold and jewellery about the great roads leading to Ireland, and more particularly the great northern road by Bangor, Conway, and the north-west coast, the bones of men somewhat deformed in shape—which deformation consists both of anterior as well as posterior flattening of the *tibiae*—it has been suggested has arisen in one case (the posterior), from extreme activity, may not the anterior form be from enforced sedentary occupation, from a continued sitting posture? The deformation is termed "platynemic".

Assuming a permanent sitting posture to produce anterior platynemic formation, or possibly even the posterior also, this would be accounted for by the habitual and enforced sitting position. This flattening of the bone is found both in sepulchral deposits and in caves with the artistic work, the latter connecting it with the gold-workers; it is also connected with the *dolichocephalic* or Basque type of *crania*.

The wealthy and luxurious gold merchant would be an employer of labour, not a manufacturer, and his Basque workmen would work under slavish coercion. The constant sitting of these artizans without working

¹ Tauric names were intermixed with Greek names on the south-Gallic coasts.

benches or settles would enforce a cross-legged posture, often adding the weight of metallic matter, together with the continuous reverberating effect of the hammer on their metallic work, and would produce by continual pressure on the *tibiae*, the effect of platycnemic flattening. If this were so, an evidence of the great length of time workers operated, accounts in a measure for the perfection of the jewelled work, but not sufficiently so as to allow the idea of its simple native origin and unassisted growth.

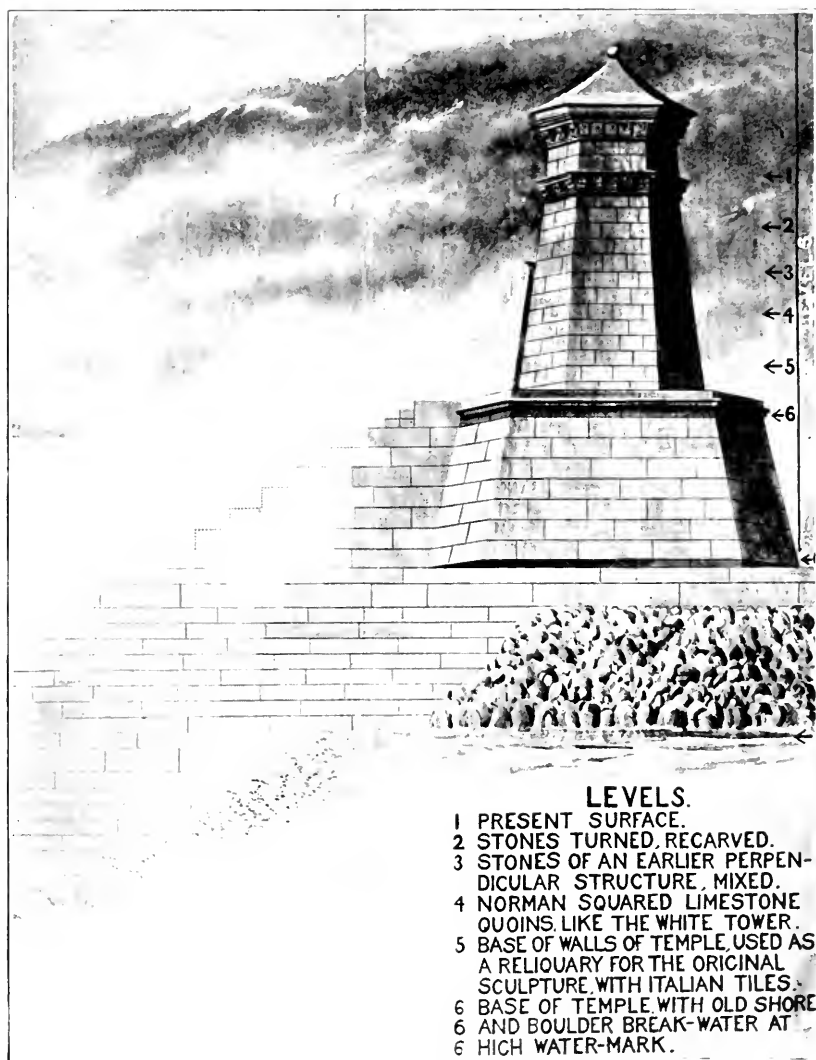
As a final example of pre-Roman or Graeco-Italian art in Britain, reference may be made to a remarkable discovery by myself, of a structure unexampled except in Etruria.¹

I referred to this in my Paper on "Old London", read last September, but I did not then dare to go as far as I can now do with certainty. In addition to my repeated visits to, and my surveys in, Etruria (see Plate IV), I have since then consulted every available work on architecture, Oriental travel, and on buildings of antiquity; but the masonry of this structure proves it to have been erected by, if not Etruscans, at least Italians well acquainted with Etruscan construction.

This is proved from the blocks of masonry, now in my possession, from a former island on the shore of the Thames, over which old Whitehall had been partially built. A temple, the whole of which I removed, including a breakwater, roof, and unused materials, see Plate I (Frontispiece). The beautiful sculptures of this temple were exhibited in the Clothworkers' Hall, at my Lecture, and surpass in uniqueness of design and delicacy of execution any Roman work in Western Europe, if not—considering the material—in Rome itself (Plates III and V).

The stone of this Temple, now in my grounds, consists of several thousand tons' weight, which I carefully removed, together with the breakwater of large granite

¹ This appears to be the temple referred to in the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum, as dedicating the district of Thorney to Apollo. The sun emblem is sculptured on it.

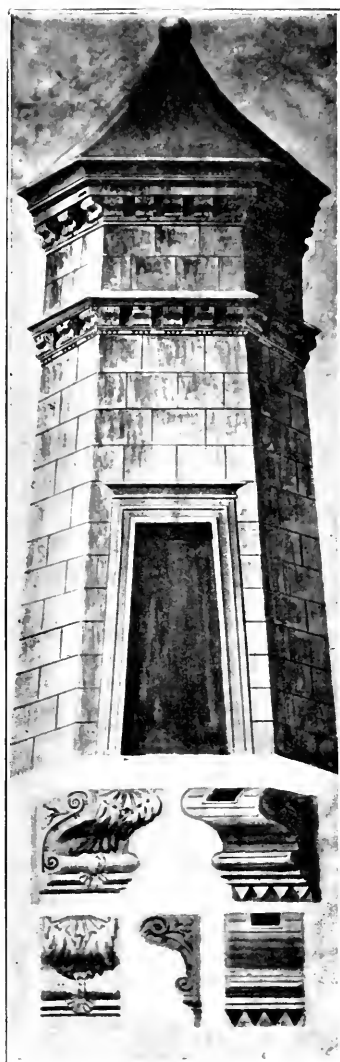


PRE-ROMAN TEMPLE AT WESTMINSTER.

View of East Elevation, showing the foundation of base and masonry of steps of ascent, all bedded firmly in the natural sloping gravel of the Thames shore.

(Author's Copyright.)

See the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum.



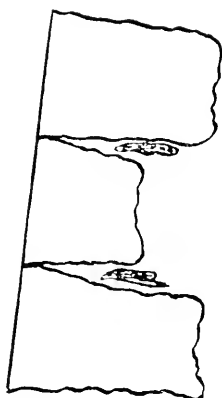
PRE-ROMAN TEMPLE AT WESTMINSTER.

Enlarged View of Temple, with sculptured enrichments.

(Author's Copyright.)

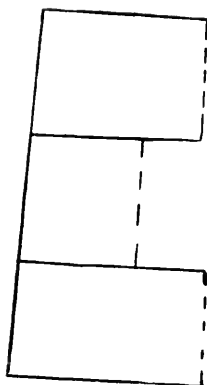
See the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum.

The gold work referred to on Plate V. includes a torque, the fastenings of which accord with that on page 253, and the raised work (*repoussé*) approximates, in elegance of design, with the style of sculpture on the Temple. See *Archæologia*, vol. iv., Second Series, Part 2, 1897. By A. J. Evans, Esq., M.A.



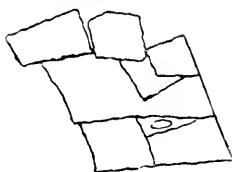
THE TEMPLE AT WESTMINSTER.

In "Cyclopean" or Pelasgic-Etrurian masonry with wrought face and squared face joints. Batter produced by galets, between rudely shaped wedge blocks.

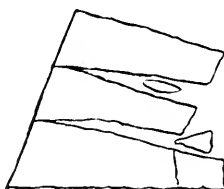


Modern mason's work, with bevelled face for batter, which goes back to the early Greek period, with close parallel joints.

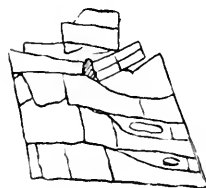
No 1.



No 2.



No 3,



No 4.

WALLS OF ETRURIA WITH BATTERING COURSES.

From personal surveys by the Author in 1856-77-84.

No. 1. Rusellae.

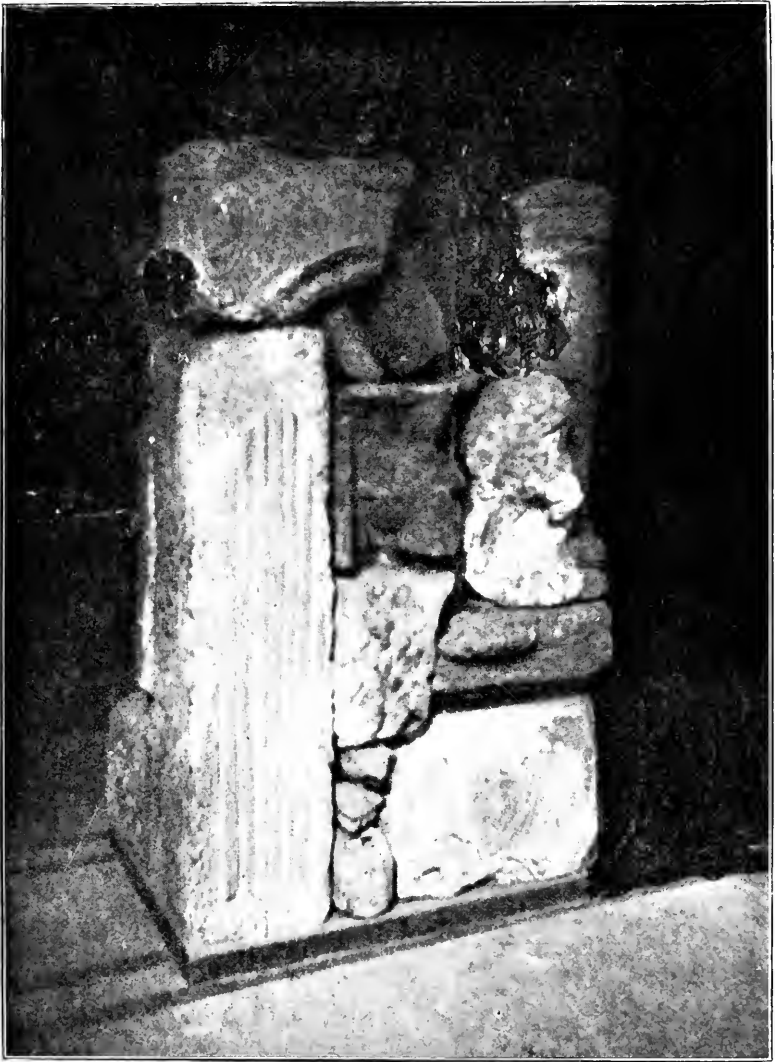
No. 2. Populonia.

No. 3. Faesulae.

No. 4. Volaterrae.

(Author's Copyright.)

See the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum.



REMAINS OF PRE-ROMAN AND OLD ROMAN LONDON. (*Author's Copyright.*)

One of several groups of Pre-Roman and Romano-British massive architectural fragments sculptured in hard sandstone, found built as waste material into a bastion of the old Roman wall of London, and now in the Guildhall Museum. It contains columns, capitals, cornices, friezes, spandrils, volutes, &c., &c., corresponding to those uncovered in the foundations of the wall by Mr. Roach Smith.

The late discovery of unsurpassed gold work in the N.W. of Ireland, showing pliant interlaced cords, supplements these pre-Roman remains. See Plate III.

See Author's Paper on "Old London," in the *Journal*.

boulders, evidently ice-borne, and no doubt from the south coast, as the sandstone appears to be from the Hastings beds. The Etruscan *galets* still adhere to the rude sides of the blocks of Etruscan mason-work (Plate IV).

The evidences, then, of Graeco-Italian colonists having been resident in Britain, and prominently in this locality, not only from times before Roman occupation, but probably from periods before Rome itself became a community, are—Literary records by historians naming the colonists and their relations with Rome, which have been identified and worked out by modern writers ; statements by Julius Caesar of magnificent edifices seen by him in the cities of Britain ; the ancient roads he found here, which he calls "*well-known roads*" ; his statements of the great commerce carried on with British ports ; of the articles of import and export ; of the international compacts carried out in Greek literature ; the use of Greek money ; Greek luxuries and articles of civilization ; Homeric accounts of jewelled work, of which the only examples are in pre-historic remains in the Greek islands and in Britain ; the Graeco-Roman account that such works were made here ; the actual jewellery found here of the earliest Greek types ; the furnaces for melting the material ; the raw material for enamelling, and the fine bronze work ; the discovery of enamel in pre-Roman graves ; of rich enamels in caves and graves ; of crucibles for analysis of gold, and of rich gold work ; the great source of their gold ; ancient Greek words and customs all along the seaboard from Italy to Britain ; their sacred trees still bearing the names described by Herodotus along the same seaboard ; the names of places and of people who have always held themselves distinct from others, and still exist in places bearing such names in proud seclusion. These, and many more examples, and finally an Etruscan temple found near the chief city (now London), of people in Britain described by Caesar as the most dominant of the tribes he encountered. Greater evidence could hardly be obtained on any subject.



RHUDDLAN.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P.

(Read 3rd November, 1897).



RHUDDLAN is the name given to a Hundred which includes a parish of the same name in the county of Flint, in North Wales, and was, prior to the annexation of Wales to England, part of the Cantrev¹ of Tegengl, which, Camden says, signifies fair England (Teg-eingh), and so called from its pleasant prospect and being long since reduced by the English. This Cantrev comprised three Cymwds :² Cornsyllt, Prestatyn, and Ruthlan. Its name is derived, according to Camden, from the reddish bank of the river Clywd, where it is seated, or Rhýddlan, from Rhýd, a ford opposite to the villages, there being one above and another below it ; but, adds Willis, in his *St. Asaph*, “adhuc sub judice est”. The parish of Rhuddlan includes the town and borough of the same name (formerly a market town), and the bathing-place of Rhyl. The town is situate on the right bank of the river Clwyd, about two miles from the sea, three miles north-west of St. Asaph, and eight miles from Denbigh. It comprised a hospital, a priory, a preceptory of Knights Templars, and a castle, to which attention will be drawn seriatim.

The first historical notice of this place occurs in the year A.D. 795, as a spot where a signal battle was fought

¹ The Welsh equivalent for a Hundred, from the British Cantre, hundred. It formerly consisted of a hundred villages.—Ash's *Dict.*

² *Hist. of Cambria*, by Lloyd.

between the Saxons and Welsh, in which Carodoc, King of North Wales, Meredyth, King of Dyved, and Offa, King of Mercia, were slain. The site of this battle is Rhuddlan Marsh, on the left bank of the river Clwyd, opposite the town of Rhuddlan. On this occasion, says Giraldus Cambrensis¹ :—

“A celebrated plaintive air was composed called ‘Mowa Rhuddlann, or the Red Marsh’, and is still played with enthusiasm by the national harpers, but the original poem commemorating the battle no longer exists.”¹

There is very little to be found respecting the hospital, abbey, and preceptory of the Knights Templars, and what there is is somewhat confused. Bishop Tanner, in his *Monasticon*, says :—

“There was an hospital near Rhuddlan as old as A.D. 1281, or 10 Edw. I (Qy. 11 Edw. I), and there was a house of Blackfriars before A.D. 1268, when Adrian de Schonau, prior of this house, was made Bishop of St. Asaph. It suffered very much in the wars of King Edward I with Llewellyn, last Prince of Wales, but recovered and subsisted till the Dissolution, when it was granted to Henry ap Harry, 32 Hen. VIII.”

And in a note Tanner says :—

“The editions to Camden (ed. 1695) speak of an abbey and an hospital at Rhuddlan, and of a gate half a mile from the village ; this last is the remains of the hospital, which was not in, but near, Rhuddlan.”

Mr. Willis, in his *Survey of Bangor*, p. 357,² saith :—

“Here is reported to have stood an abbey the religious of which are said to have been of a military order! But nothing more of this hath occurred to me”.

This would appear to refer to the preceptory of the Knights Templars, as to which it is said that :—

“After the peace concluded between Henry II and Owain, Prince of Gwynedd (A.D. 1157), the King leaving the castles of Ruthlan and Basingwerk well fortified and manned, after he had built a house thereby for the Templars, returned to England.”³

¹ Hoare's *Translation*, vol. ii, p. 141.

² See also Willis's *St. Asaph*, vol. i, p. 113 ; ed. by Edwards, 1801.

³ *Hist. of Cambria*, by H. Lloyd, and see post.

Dugdale, in the *Monasticon*, adopts almost verbatim Tanner's account of the abbey,¹ but under the heading of Rutland he says :—

“ In the *Harlean MS.* 433, fol. 105, there is an entry of a grant to the Pryour and the Convent of the Freer Preachours in the towne of Rutlande for fishing with oon nette in the water of Clowde from Rutlande to the sea, 1 Rich. III, evidently belonging to the Friars Preachers of Rhuddlan, in Flintshire.”

Bishop Tanner, in the Preface to his *Monasticon*, says :—

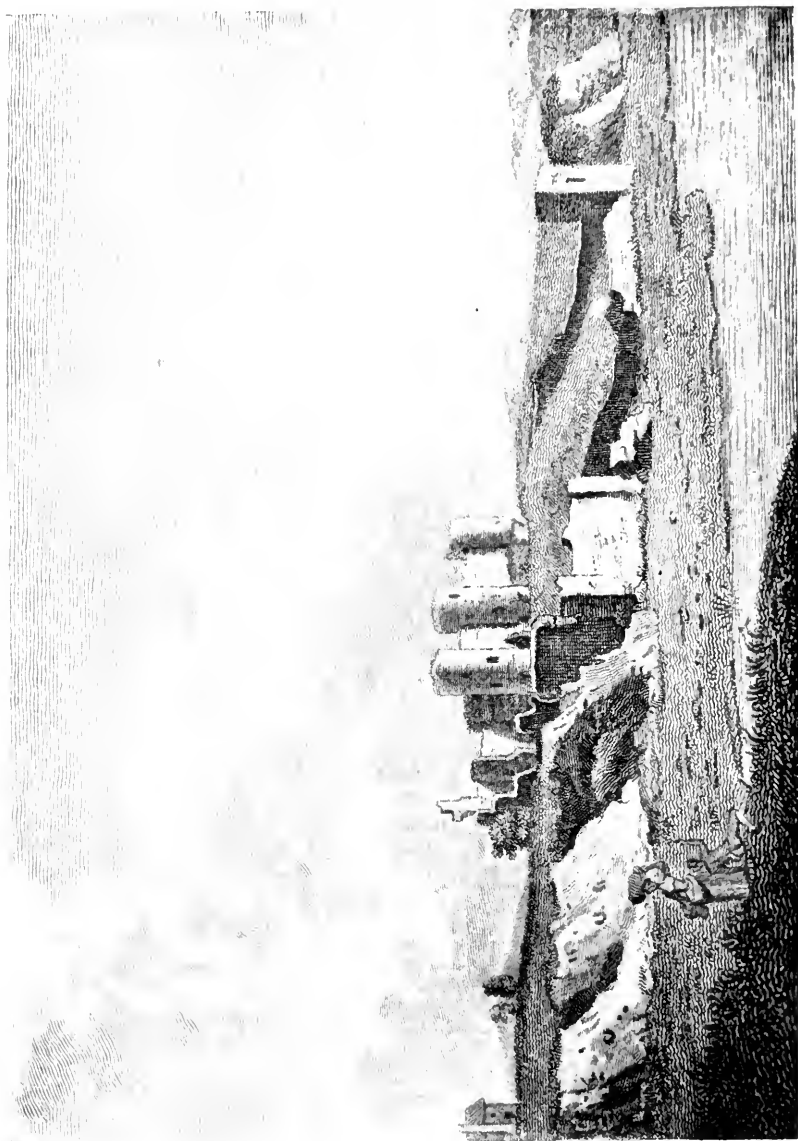
“ By Hospitals he means such houses for the relief of poor and impotent people as were incorporated by Royal Patents and made capable of gifts and grants in succession ; and besides the poor and impotent there were in those hospitals two or three Religious, one to be master or prior and one or two to be chaplains and confessors ; and these observed the rule of St. Austin, and probably subjected the poor and impotent to some religious restraints.”

From this we may gather that this hospital was under the rule of the secular canons of St. Austin, which St. Dunstan did so much to suppress, so that they were mainly converted into regular canons or drafted into other houses of the monastic orders, between his time and that of Thomas A'Becket in the reign of Henry II ; and it is very probable that under this influence the hospital at Rhuddlan may have been merged in the priory of Blackfriars, which may be the reason that so little is known of its history.

The Castle is said to have been built by Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt in the year 1015. Camden says one of the towers in the castle was called Tŵr-y-Brenin, *i.e.*, King's Tower ; and below the hill upon the bank of the river we find another, apart from the Castle, called Tŵr Silod. In 1063 we learn from the *Saxon Chronicle* that :—

“ After midwinter, Harold the Earl went from Gloucester to Ryddlan, which was Griffin's, and burned the Vill and his ships and all the stores which thereto belonged, and put him to flight. And then at Rogation tides, Harold went with his ships from Bristol about Wales ; and the people made a truce and delivered

¹ The term “ abbey ” must be taken in its general signification. This house was a priory.



RHUDLAN CASTLE.
From an old Engraving, 1760.

hostages, and Tosty went with a land force against them, and they subdued the land. But in the same year during harvest was King Griffin slain on the nones of August, by his own men, by reason of the war that he warred with Harold the Earl. He was king over all the Welsh race : and his head was brought to Harold the Earl, and Harold brought it to the King, and his ships head, and the rigging therewith. And King Edward committed the land to his (*i.e.*, Griffin's) two brothers, Blethgent and Rigwadle."

Robert de Rhuddlan, a valiant Norman, nephew to Hugh Lupus,¹ took the castle from the Welsh, and by the command of William the Conqueror fortified it with new works, and made it his place of residence. He received a visit here from Prince Gruffydh ap Rynan, who came to solicit aid against his enemies, which he obtained ; but on some quarrel he attacked Robert in his castle, took and burnt the bailey or yard, and killed such a number of his men that very few escaped into the tower.

In A.D. 1157, Hen. II brought an immense army into the champaign land of Caerleon, with the design of subjecting all Gwynedd to himself, and there he encamped ; and Owen, Prince of Gwynedd, called to him his sons, and his strength, and his army, and his power. He encamped at Basingwerk, having with him an immense host. And David and Cynan, sons of Owen, intercepted the king in the wood of Cennadeog, and fought a severe battle with him, who, having many of his men killed, scarcely escaped into the champaign land again. And when Owain understood that the King was coming upon him from behind, and saw the earls from the other side approaching with an immense armed host, he left the place and retreated into the place called Cil Owain (*i.e.*, the retire of Owain), and then the King collected his army together and proceeded to Rhuddlan in a rage ; and Owain encamped and entrenched himself at Bryn-y-pin, and skirmished with the king's men daily ; and in the meantime, when the king was fortifying the Castle of Rhuddlan, his navy, which

¹ Hugh Lupus was a Norman who came over to England with the Conqueror, and was created by him first Earl of Chester.—*Hist. of Cambria*, by Lloyd.

was guided by Madoc ap Meredyth, Prince of Powys, anchored in Môn or Anglesea, and put on land the soldiers, who spoiled two churches and a little of the country thereabouts. But as they returned unto their ships, all the strength of the Isle set upon and killed them all. Then the shipmen weighed anchor and went away to Chester. In the meantime there was a peace concluded between the king and the prince, upon condition that Cadwallader should have his land again, and that his brother (Owain) should be his friend. Then the King, leaving the castles of Ruthlan and Basingwerke well fortified and manned, having given Ruthlan Castle to Hugh Beauchamp, and, after he had built a house thereby for the Templars, returned to England.

In 1164, David, son of Owain Gwynedd, ravaged Tégegŵl, and removed the people, with their cattle, into the valley of Clwyd, from all the country except Basingwerk, the house which his father had founded; and when the King thought that there would be an attack made upon the castle which was in Tegeniel, he moved an army with extreme haste and came to Rhuddlan, and purposed to erect a castle there, and encamped there three nights.

In 1167, Owain, Prince of North Wales, Cadwalader, his brother, and Rees (or Rhys), Prince of South Wales, laid siege to the Castle of Ruthlan, which the chronicler¹ says the king had lately built and fortified, which the garrison defended manfully and worthilie, yet the princes would not depart until they had won it, which they did at two months (in the *Tywyssogion* it says three months), and then rased it. Afterwards they got the castle of Prestatyn and destroyed it, and then brought all Tagengl to Owain's subjection, and returned home with great honour, or (as it is put in the *Tywyssogion*): "And then every one happy and victorious to his own country."

After this, we do not find anything recorded about Rhuddlan until the reign of King John, though it must have been retaken by the English, for in the year 1213

¹ *Hist. of Cambria*, by H. Lloyd. The transactions from 1157 to 1167 are taken from this history, compared with the *Brut y Tywyssogion*, ed. by the Rev. John Williams ap Ithel, Rolls Series.

Prince Llewelyn, having captured all the other castles, laid siege to the castles of Dyganwy and Ruthlan, and won them both, so that he left the king neither hold nor castle within his land.

In 1277, Edward I prepared two armies, whereof he led one himself to North Wales, as far as Ruthlan, and fortified that castle. The Prince Llewelyn ap Gryflyth sent to the king for peace, which was granted upon these conditions (amongst others):—

“That four cantrefls should remain to the King for ever, which were : cantref of Ros, where the King’s castle of Tegauwy stood ; cantref of Bynonioc, where Denbigh is ; cantref of Tegengl, where Ruthlan standeth ; and cantref Dyffryn Clwyd, where Ruthlan is.”

The peace concluded between the Prince of Wales and King of England did not long continue, and soon after (1281), David, Lord of Denbigh, being reconciled to his brother, the Prince, upon condition that he should never after serve the King of England as he had done before, laid siege to the castle of Hawarden and took Roger Clifford, a noble knight, slaying all that resisted, and, after spoiling all the country hearths, his brother the Prince laid siege to the castle of Ruthlan. The king, hearing of this, hasted thither with a great army to raise the siege. Then the Prince retired with his army. At the same time, Rees, the son of Maelgon, and Gryflyth ap Meredith ap Owen, with other noblemen of South Wales, took the castle of Aberystyth and divers other castles ; therefore the king sent the Archbishop of Canterbury (Peckham) to talk with the Prince and his brethren, who returned without doing any good.

The Archbishop then sent Articles to be intimated to the Prince and people, “that they signify with us how peace and concord may be established, and if they say their laws or covenants be not observed, that they signify unto us which these be.”

In answer to this, the Prince complained of the violation of the Articles of the Peace by the English, and sent a note in writing of the wrongs and injuries which were done unto them.

The following are some of the "Griefs" which were sent to the Archbishop, having special special reference to Ruthlan.

The Lord David ap Gryffyth complained :—

"That the Justice of Chester cut down his woods of Lhyweny and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan and others."

The men of Ros complained :—

"It is our right that no stranger should cut down our woods without our leave, yet notwithstanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan that it should be lawful for other men to cut down our woods, yet to us it was forbidden.

"When any cometh to Ruthlen with merchandize, if he refuse whatsoever any English man offereth, he is forthwith sent to the Castle to prison, and the English man hath the thing and the king hath the price; then the soldiours of the castell first spoile and beate the partie, and then cause him to pay the porter and let him go.

"If any Welshman buy anything in Ruthlan and any English man do meet him, he will take it from him and give him less than he paid for it.

"A certain gentleman was slaine, who had fostered the son of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan Castle: then the said Gruno and the kindred of him that was slaine asked justice, but some of them were imprisoned and the killer discharged. Then Gruno went to London for justice which the king did promise him, but he never had anie, but spent twenty marks, and Gruno was faine to go again to London for justice, where he spent xviii marks vjs. viij*d.*, but he could not be heard."

The noble men of Tegengl complained :—

"That when they did homage to the king, the king promised to defend them and their goods, but they were spoiled of their right and privileges and customs of the country, and were compelled to be judged by the laws of England whereas their privilege was to be judged according to the laws of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the best men of the country were taken because they desired to be judged at Tref Edwyn.

"The son of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan and put in prison without any cause at all; neither would the king's officers deliver him, unless he would redeem the gages of a certain woman, for the which he was constrained to pay much more than the pawne laie for.

"The constable of Ruthlan kept two of the king's soldiers in prison, for that they took an Englishman who had wounded a man."

When the Archbishop could not conclude peace he denounced the Prince and his accomplices accursed, and the King sent his army by sea to the Isle of Man or Anglesey, and Llewellyn and his brother David, with a great army, suddenly on Palm Sunday, 10 Edward I, A.D. 1282, in the night came and besieged Ruthlan Castle, wasted the country round about it with fire and sword, taking Robert Clifford, the King's Chief Justice of Wales, prisoner, and sending him to Snowdon Hills; whereupon King Edward sent all his militia then ready to Ruthlan Castle, and summoned all who held of him by knights' service to meet him there; from whence he marched with his army through Anglesey towards Snowdon against the Welsh; and soon after Prince Llewellyn was slain with most of his army. The Prince's head was cut off, and taken by Lord Edmund Mortimer to Ruthlan, where the King then was, and he sent it to London.

Shortly after the fall of Llewellyn the Welshmen gave up David, the Prince's brother, to the King, whom he kept in Ruthlan Castle, and afterwards put him to death at Shrewsbury. Then the King built two strongholds in North Wales, one at Conway and the other at Carnarvon. When Rees Vachan heard how all things went, he yielded himself to the Earl of Hereford, who, at the King's commandment, sent him to the Tower of London to be imprisoned. And so the King passed through all Wales, and brought all the country into subjection to the Crown of England.

But Edward was a statesman as well as a warrior, and in the following year he appointed certain Commissioners, with the Bishop of St. David's for their President, in order to make new regulations for the government of the conquered country upon the best consideration of the different laws of the two countries. Upon the report of these Commissioners, the Statute of Wales, or, as it is sometimes called, the Statute of Snowdon, was framed and signed at Rhuddlan, on the Sunday in Mid-Lent,

23rd day of March 1284, in the 12th year of the King's reign.

This statute was an ordinance or treaty between the King and the Welsh people independently of the Parliament of England, and is not, therefore, properly a statute. It is not included among the statutes at large, which comprise the authorized Acts of the English Parliament, but it is included in the Volume of the Statutes of the Realm, printed in 1810 by command of George III. It has been confounded with a statute of Rutland, or Rothland, consisting of provisions made relating to the Exchequer applicable to England and not to Wales, which is given in most printed copies as of the 10th year of Edward I (1282). In a paper on the Ancient Laws and Statutes of Wales, read at our Congress at Llangollen in 1877, and printed in our *Journal*,¹ the distinction between those two statutes is noticed at some length, and it is shown conclusively that the Statute of Wales was made at Rhuddlan in 1284 (12th Edw. I), and the provisions of the statute are fully referred to.

In 1399, Percy, Earl of Northumberland, having previously seized the castle, laid an ambush there when he went to meet King Richard II, who was then at Conway on his return from Ireland. The King accompanied the Earl, and they dined at Rhuddlan Castle on their way to Flint, where the King met the Duke of Lancaster, and proceeded with him to London and the Tower.

In the Civil War of Charles I, the castle was garrisoned for the King, but was taken by Mytton in 1645, and dismantled by order of Parliament. It now belongs to the Crown.

¹ Vol. xxxiv, p. 436.





SOME CERTIFICATES AS TO RECUSANTS IN HOLDERNESS.

BY THOMAS BLASHILL, ESQ., V.P.

(Read March 3rd, 1897.)



THROUGHOUT the reign of Elizabeth, and until the reign of William and Mary, the offence of recusancy, which was the refusing or neglecting to attend the worship of the Established Church, much engaged the attention of successive Governments and of the local officers whose duty it was to expose and punish the offenders. There were recusants from negligence, or probably from a dislike of church, not unknown in more recent times, and "recusants-convict" who persisted in the offence after they had been convicted and punished. But the serious attention of the authorities was directed to Popish recusants and Popish recusants-convict. With these people the offence was likely to be continuous, and, by an Act of 7 James I, those who had the means might be fined twenty pounds a month, or the King might take two-thirds of their lands. Their wives, being recusants, might lie in prison unless the same fine was paid. Hallam says the penalties were particularly hard upon the women, who adhered longer to the old religion.

There were not very many Popish recusants in Holderness, and they would doubtless be cut off from the company and from the sympathy of their neighbours, so that it would be surprising to find a family either of the gentry or the farming or labouring class who could long endure such a position.

The documents which I am able to exhibit throw much light on the operation of the law in the centre of Holder-

ness, which was then by its remoteness, and by the absence of good roads, more than usually secluded from the outside world. Services in the churches seem to have been held morning and afternoon, and everyone was expected to be present at both or to give a good excuse. Old age, sickness, the charge of sick persons or children, and absence from home, were good excuses. Failing these, the absence from church of any person was certified by the churchwardens to the Justices of the Peace. These certificates relate chiefly to the last Sunday in May and the first and second Sundays in June 1616, that year being given upon one of them only, but all seem to have been written out for the churchwardens on the same system. Some of these could only sign with a mark. Some of them are marked "Jur" for Juratus, in token of their having been sworn to by the signatories. The certificates in respect of the parish of Burton Pidsey are as follows:—

Burton Pydsey.

To his maties justices of peace or to ther Deputye or Deputyes to whom it doth appteyne.

These are to cerfyfe you that our churchwardens have hitherto bene verye vigilant in ther office and have taken notice of such offenders as have bene absent any saboath daye either mor'ge or eveninge prayer since your last syttinge but I am to certifiye you (that God be thanked for it) we have as many everye saboath daye both mor'ge and eveninge prayer as in any towne in Holder-ness for the people therin conteyned and as few absent but for every house, one or such aged of sicke persons as are not able to come.

These are the offenders since the last your syttings.

excused.	{	<p>John Martyne & his men receyved the comion upon the feast of penticoast last, since w'h tyme they have bene in labour as farr as Etton upon the Wolds and therefore canott com upon the saboath daye. but I certify you that neither he nor his servants absents themselves any saboath daye being at home.</p> <p>Elizabeth Richison was absent the xxvjth of maie but she was very sick that daye and not able to come.</p> <p>Margaret Ingram the wife of Thomas Ingram was absent the xxvi^t of May but the cause of her absence was that she hath not a mayd servant and was to kepe her house having a very innocent child in her house.</p>
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Excused.

forenoone { Thomas Richardson was absent the xxvi of maie
and refuseth to paye xii*d*. for his absence.
forenoone { Ioan Ayre was absent from church the xxvi of maie.
Elizabeth Martyne was absent from church the xxvi^t
of May but her mother sayth she was about an earnest
busines that she sent her.

William Wilson, clerk.

Anthony Richardson	} Churchwardens.
Z mark	
Robt. Wright	
+ mark	
Robart Rammisonne	Willm Robinsonne

This must have been a model parish. The next certificate probably refers especially to the two following Sundays.

Burton Pydsey.

To his maties Justices of peace to whome it doth appteyne.

273

The answer of the Churchwardens touching Recusants and those that are negligent in coming to the church.

ffirst they say they have no Recusants within ther p'ishe nor any favourers of popishe religion.

It. they say they have not any man or woman within ther p'ishe that are negligent in coming to the church but all the Inhabitants doe verye diligentlie resort to the church everie saboath daye.

Robart Rammisonne	} Churchwardens.
Anthony Richardson	
Z mark	
Robert Wright	
+ mark	
Willm. Robinsonne	

nil.

Tunstall is a very secluded parish on the sea cliff. Here also the people were excellent churchgoers.

Tunstall.

268

It'm we p'sent no thinge for our parishioners comes to church orderly ; and God be thanked we have no recusants wth us.

nil	Willm. Wynde	} Churchwardens.
	Tho. Green	

Humbleton is a village remotely situate, having a fine church. Fitling and Flinton are townships in the parish. This certificate shows how the fines were disposed of.

Humbleton.

270

Thes ar to certifie you that we the churchwardens and sworne men have receyved the forfeiture of ffrancis Shireson & Barberey which was iiis. for thre sundayes according to your warrant & have distributed iis. vii^d. to x of the needfullest people & iiij^d. [we] have for your clerke.

We p'sent the saide ffrancis for thre Sundayes together absent being excommunicate.

We p'sent Barberey his wife for the same thre Sundayes a recusant and also excommunicate.

We p'sent Willya Meadley of flynton yon'ger for beinge from church the 2 daye of June.

Absent in the } Willya. Whelpdayle of flynton for the lyke the
afternoone } ix of June.

We p'sent Robt. Monday for the lyke the 2 daye of June.
allowed.

Churchwardens of Humbleton, Cristopher Iveson,
Robt. Nettleton, James Hudson for fytlynge,
Willyam parkynge for flynton.

Elstronwick is a chapelry in the parish of Humbleton. The absentees seem to have been in a similar proportion.

1616. *Ellstronweke.*

272

Churchwardens for this yeare—

Jur. Robeart Nettleton and Raphe Constable.

The names of all those which hathe bene absent from our church thes dayes ffollowinge.

We p'sent John Mayre for beinge from church the xxvith daye of Maye.

Absent at the } We p'sent John Mampas for beinge from church
afterprayer. } the seconde daye of June.

Absent the } We p'sent Robert Hoggard for beinge from
lyke. } church the ixth daye of June.

We p'sent George White for beinge from church the xxvith daye of Maye.

We p'sent Rycharde Emerson for beinge from church the ixth day of June. Allowed.

Absent in the } We p'sent Rycharde Torye for beinge from church
forenoone. } the second daye of June.

Winton, now called Wyton, is a township in the parish of Swine, and within a few miles of Hull. In the seventeenth century the manor was held by the old family of Brigham, now said to be extinct. Ralph Brigham, who lived there at the date of these documents, is said in the pedigree printed in Poulson's *History of Holderness* to have been a recusant, and as such to have compounded for his lands for the sum of thirty-five pounds. He duly appears with his wife and servant in these two certificates. His was a much more serious matter than the case of a recusant who was merely negligent, or who disliked to attend the services.

Wyncton or Wyton.

The names of thes that wer absent from the chereh those daies here under writen.

first upon the xxxth of March we p'sent Mary Brigham wife to Mr. Raiph Brigham, gent.

Upon the sixt of aprill we p'sent Mary Brigham wife to Mr. Raiph Brigham gent.

Upon the thirteenth of Aprill
by me Ffrancis Nicholson
Churchwarden.

Wyncton.

xxvith day of May

The names of thes that wer absent from the church.

All Raiph Brigham and Mary his wife.

All Will'm flarthing his servant.

The second day of Jun.

Mary Brigham.

All Edward NicholSEN.

ixth day of June.

All Raiph Brigham.

Mary Brigham.

All Edward Nicholso'.

Jur. Francis Nicholson, Churchwⁿ.

These old documents give a good idea of the way in which the inhabitants of these parishes were looked after Sunday by Sunday and no doubt on feast days also. Holy Communion was celebrated three times in the year, and every adult was expected to partake of it. If any

one was idling about when he ought to be in church the constable would make him attend, and, when there, the dog-whipper would see that he kept awake. No doubt sermons were long, but there is evidence enough that they were appreciated at least by the graver and better sort of the people. Such charities as were founded were usually accompanied with the condition that the recipients should go to church to hear divine service "and sermon".





THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.

BY GEO. PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

Read at the London Congress, September 21st. 1896.



THE history of the great institution known as the Charterhouse presents itself to the inquirer under three aspects : firstly, the Monastic ; secondly, the Domestic ; and, lastly, the Collegiate or Scholastic aspect. At the outset of our inquiries into the history of the establishment of the Charterhouse on this site, we are carried back to that period in our national history when King Edward III had succeeded in raising the power and majesty of England to an eminence previously unknown. Victorious over all his foes both at home and abroad, with Scotland, France, and Bavaria at his feet, the King had entered his capital in triumph in October of the year 1347. There was, however, *one* foe whose deadly ravages the victorious monarch was powerless to frustrate ; this was the mysterious, malignant, and terrible pest, which, from being unlike to any previously known disease, and in ignorance of its cause or origin, was called by the dreaded name of the “Black Death”. All through the spring and summer of the year 1348 this terrible visitation had been devastating Europe, and late in the autumn of that year it appears to have reached England and attacked the western counties : Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire all suffered severely from its ravages ; it at length reached London, and thence spread onward over the eastern counties, where the mortality was even greater than in the west. The pestilence appears to have reached Westminster at the very commencement of the year 1349, for on that New Year’s Day

the King informed the Bishop of Winchester that, on account of a sudden visitation of deadly pestilence which had broken out in Westminster and the neighbourhood, and was daily increasing, Parliament, which was to have assembled on July 19th, was prorogued to the 27th of April; but the disease meanwhile increased with such alarming rapidity that, in consequence, the King on March 10th again prorogued Parliament *sine die*. Terrible indeed must have been the visitation, for old John Stowe says: "it so wasted the people that scarce a tenth person of all sorts was left alive, and churchyards were not sufficient to receive the dead, but men were forced to choose out certain fields for burials", and there the victims of this malignant contagion were buried in common grave-pits or large deep ditches, holding hundreds of bodies, row upon row, with only a little earth between and covering them. Hallowed ground being insufficient, owing to the multitudes that perished, it came about that the bodies were of necessity interred in the most hasty and irreverent manner without any religious service: for, though it is recorded that the clergy nobly stayed at their posts and fulfilled their duties, they themselves fell victims to the prevailing malady.

At that time the site of Charterhouse was open fields, some distance beyond the city walls. The Bishop of London at that time was Ralph Stratford, and he, being much concerned and grieved to see that so many of his people were being interred without the offices of the church and in unconsecrated ground, took steps to acquire by purchase some three acres of waste ground known as "no man's land", lying close to the land of the Abbey of Westminster and the Priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and having enclosed it with a wall he built a chapel upon a portion of the ground, in which masses were said daily for the repose and pardon of the souls of the dead who were buried close by. From this circumstance the spot became known as Pardon Chapel and graveyard. It was situated on the other side of the Clerkenwell Road, formerly known as Wilderness Row, and directly facing the spot where, afterwards, was the kitchen garden of the Charterhouse monastery.

The pestilence continued to increase, and the mortality became so great that this ground soon became quite insufficient for the purpose of burial. At this time there was in London, attached to the suite of the King, a French knight who had seen much service in the foreign wars. He, Sir Walter de Manny by name, of Manny, in Cambrai, humanely and generously purchased some thirteen acres of adjacent land from the brethren of St. Bartholomew Spital, and dedicated it to the purpose of the interment of the dead, and Bishop Stratford duly consecrated it for that sacred use. Stowe relates that in this plot of ground no fewer than fifty thousand bodies were interred, and that he had seen and read an inscription to that effect, which was fixed to a stone cross then standing in the churchyard. The old chronicler further remarks that, in consideration of the great number of Christian people here buried, Sir Walter also caused a chapel to be built upon a part of the land, where for twenty-three years afterwards offerings were made. It is said, indeed, that in all over one hundred thousand persons were buried on this spot. They were not, of course, all citizens or well-to-do inhabitants of London, the great majority must have been wayfarers and poor persons, the most likely class at all times to succumb to the attack of such an epidemic. Disputes appear to have arisen between the clergy of the neighbouring churches and those who served this chapel, so in order to avoid such unseemly contention the Bishop directed that the bodies should be taken to the church of the particular parish in which each victim had died, and afterwards brought here for burial. We have now arrived at the year 1361, at which period the Bishop of London, Michael de Northburgh (who had succeeded Bishop Stratford, the founder of Pardon Chapel), died, and by his will bequeathed the sum of £2,000, equivalent to over £5,000 of our money, for the purpose of founding a monastery of the Carthusian Order upon this site. He also provided richly for its endowment, and presented in addition for the service of the church, a silver and enamelled vessel for the preservation of the Host; this I suppose to have been a monstrance, or ostensorium, which was often made

in the shape of a sun in glory, and was transparent, made of crystal or glass. He also gave a vessel for the holy water, and a silver bell, and presented all his books to the library of the monastery. Stowe, however, does not mention the Bishop's share in the foundation, but attributes the whole to the munificence of Sir Walter de Manny. The house by the King's leave was named the "House of the Salutation of the Mother of God". The knight appears to have been a sort of trustee of the Bishop's bequest, and at once proceeded to carry out his intentions by obtaining the royal license to found the convent; he also endowed it himself with the thirteen acres of land previously consecrated. King Edward III and King Richard II each endowed the monastery with great privileges, and granted the monks many immunities. Pennant says he originally intended to found a college for a Warden, Dean, and twelve secular priests, but changed his design in conformity with Bishop de Northburgh's will, and founded the priory for twenty-four Carthusian monks, the church being consecrated in 1371. A large amount of rebuilding would seem to have been undertaken by the monks in the early part of the sixteenth century, from 1505 to 1509. This foundation was, in fact, a double one, for the original rules of the Carthusian Order were that twelve monks and a prior should compose each convent, commemorative of Our Saviour and the twelve Apostles. This rule was, however, frequently departed from, as at Mount Grace, in Yorkshire, where there were twenty cells; and their latest foundation in England, at Sheen, in Surrey, in 1514, had accommodation for thirty monks.

I need say but little about the constitution of the Carthusian Order, for most of you will remember that it was founded in 1080 by St. Bruno, at Chartreux, near Grenoble, whence the name Chartreuse, or Charter-house, is corruptly derived. The Carthusians were a very austere brotherhood, and their rule was a most severe one: which is one reason, perhaps, why they were very few in numbers, compared to other orders. The Order was not known in this country until 1176, when they established themselves at Witham, in Somersetshire; at

SITE OF CLOISTER

PLAN OF THE CHARTERHOUSE

SHEWING THE

MONASTIC BUILDINGS

(FROM THE LATE 17TH HERBERT CARPENTERS PLAN A.D. 1684)

GREAT COURT OF THE
MONASTERY

UPPER GREEN

SITE OF MONASTIC
CONDUIT

GARDEN

CORRIDOR WALK

ORATORY

FIRST
CHAMBER

BEDROOM

STORE

STORE

LITTLE PORTICO

CORRIDOR

THE TURN

THE TURN

CLOISTER WALK

PLAN OF CELL OF A CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY

FROM
VIOLET-LE-DUC

CLOISTER

FORMERLY MONKS CELLS
AND GARDENS

SITE OF PRIVY
GARDEN

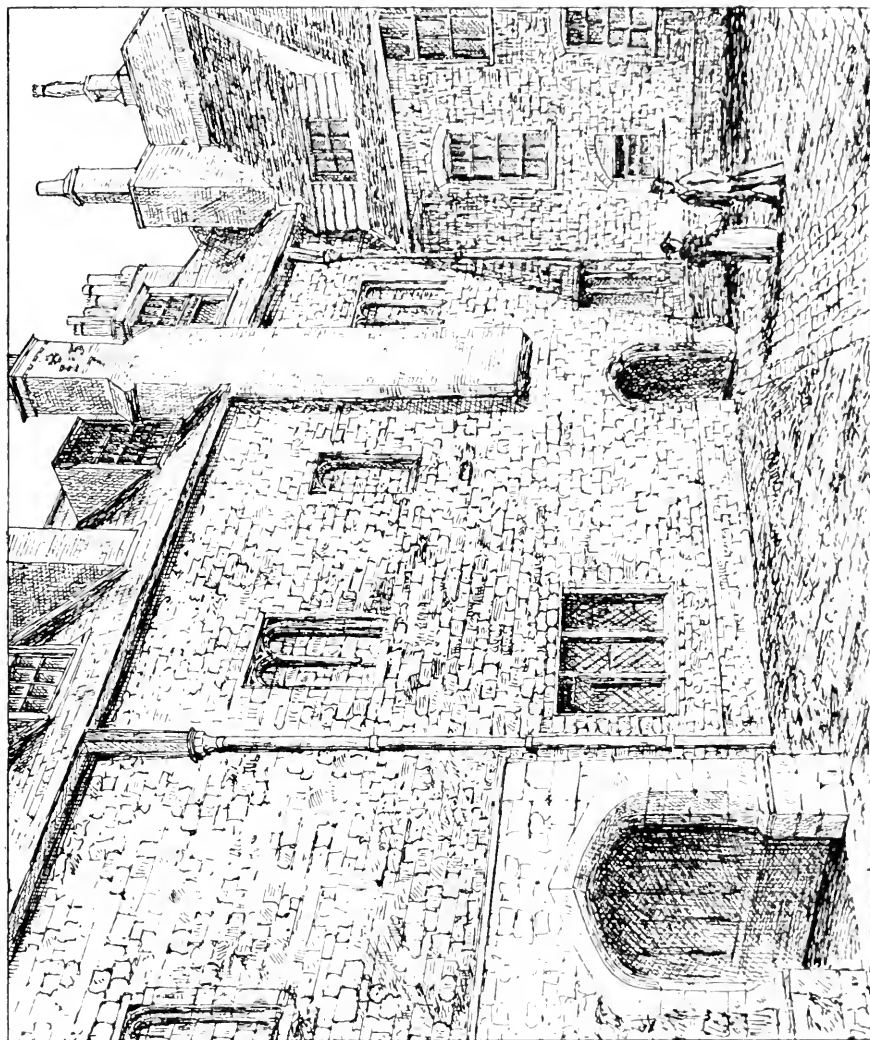
long intervals other houses were founded, but they appear never to have possessed more than perhaps nineteen houses in England, and I believe none of these were for nuns. Their rule was rigidly severe, and they passed their lives in solitude and almost perpetual silence. Unlike other religious communities, they did not live in common, but each monk had his own separate cell, which cells were—at the Charterhouse—ranged round the four sides of the great cloister, and consisted of small detached houses, containing three rooms on the ground-floor and a room in the roof. To each house was assigned a small walled-in garden, along one side of which was a paved walk sheltered by a pent roof, where the inmate of the cell could take exercise in wet weather. The monks wore hair shirts, and never ate meat, and only fish when it was presented to them as alms; their ordinary food consisted of pulse, bran bread, and water. Notwithstanding the extreme harshness of their rigid rule, the Carthusians appear to have always enjoyed the respect of the people; they were regarded as thoroughly sincere and devout, and were never accused of the misdeeds too prevalent amongst the other monastic orders. The London Charterhouse in particular, it is recorded, bore the highest reputation at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.

The ground plan of the Charterhouse differs considerably in arrangement from that of the earlier Priory of Chartreuse at Clermont.

There the church consisted only of a choir and sanctuary, and occupied the middle of the width of a large parallelogram, with an outer court to the west, in which, immediately opposite the church and separated from it only by a cloister, was the Prior's court and lodging. The great cloister court, surrounded by the cells and gardens of the monks, extended immediately to the east of the church. Here, at Charterhouse, the arrangement is otherwise, as we shall see; it also differs from the arrangement of the other English houses of this Order, so far as they are known, because most of them have been either entirely destroyed, or have been so altered in rebuilding for secular uses, that the original

plans can no longer be traced. At Charterhouse, the church stood almost due east and west, but the large cloister with its cells and gardens was on the north, and the little cloister and monastic buildings on the south-west. The guest-house, running north and south, on the west side of the little cloister and divided into several apartments, while the Prior's guesten-hall and the monks' refectory are on the north side, near to the kitchen, the buttery, and the bakehouse, which, with other offices used by the lay brethren, formed the three sides of a smaller and somewhat irregular court still further to the west, opening out of the little cloister by a vaulted passage. This is the oldest portion remaining of the monastic buildings, and dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century (about 1506), and formed part of the extensive reconstruction undertaken by the monks at that time. It is known as the "Washhouse Court". There is so little remaining of the monastic church that its original plan is somewhat doubtful, but I am inclined to believe that it was not of large dimensions, and resembled that at Mount Grace, and consisted of a short and aisleless nave (if there were a nave at all, which seems very doubtful, although Mr. Carpenter's plan appears to indicate the foundation of nave walls), a central tower, and a choir, the latter with side chapels on the north, together with a sacristy. A passage from the great cloister seems to have led past the east end of the choir to the chapter-house, the site of which Mr. Carpenter places rather to the south, the treasury probably being between it and the cloister, the chapter-house being rectangular in plan. As the monks lived in seclusion in their separate cells, they only met at regular intervals: three times daily in church, and in the refectory on Sundays and certain feast days, and very occasionally in the chapter-house.

Mr. Micklethwaite, some years ago, was fortunate enough to discover an old inventory, which specified the articles supplied to each monk, so as make him self-dependent, except for his dinner, which was brought to his cell by a lay brother; but in order that this brother should not see the monk inhabiting the cell, there was a



VIEW IN "WASH-HOUSE" COURT, CHARTERHOUSE.

little loop in the garden wall which turned at right angles through which the food was passed. The articles provided were as follows, viz. :—Two complete suits of clothes, a better and a worse, a razor, whetstone and hone, needles, thread, and comb, writing-desk and materials, with pins, chalk, two pieces of pumice-stone and two penknives, lead weight, ruler, pricker, two horns of ink and a style, two pots, two tubs, bread bag, spoons, knife, basin, water-cup, torch, flint and steel, axe and firing-wood.

The monastery of Charterhouse contained twenty-four monks and a Prior, and almost as many lay brethren. Some of the monks occupied themselves in the study of medicine, and one in particular became so skilful in its application that an unusual privilege was allowed him : he was permitted to leave the convent and travel in order to perfect himself in the study, and ultimately was so successful that he obtained permission to leave the monastery altogether, and establish himself as a doctor. His name was Andreas Boorde. Wood-carving, illuminating, and copying MSS. were the occupations of others, in which arts many of them excelled.

Such, then, as I have attempted to describe, was the life these old Carthusians lived, and such the home they lived in, until the time at last came when monk and monastery were to pass away from Charterhouse for ever, and the old buildings were to be pulled down or to be converted into other and purely secular uses. Henry VIII, described by an old writer as “a King with a Pope in his belly”, was furious with the monks of Charterhouse, not only on account of the superior sanctity of their lives, but because of their hostility to his divorce from the Queen, and their long obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge his supremacy. The mandate, therefore, was issued for their destruction. On the 4th of May 1534, the Royal Commissioners, Marsh, Bedyll and Mitchell, visited the monastery to examine into its character and condition, and to receive the oaths of the Prior and the brethren ; but they refusing to acknowledge the King’s supremacy, the Prior, John Houghton, and Humphry Middleton, the precentor, were sent to

the Tower. One month later they were released, and with a few of the brethren conformed. Strype says they took the oath conditionally, "as far as it was lawful". The remainder of the monks, however, still refused to subscribe, but ultimately did so upon the recommendations of the brethren of the Convent of Sion. The King was not satisfied with this surrender, and suspecting the Prior of disaffection, he was re-arrested, tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, with the usual barbarities attendant upon such a fate. He suffered at Tyburn, in company with the Priors of Beauvale in Notts., and of Axholme, and Father Reynolds of the Brigittine Convent at Sion, and John Hale, the vicar of Isleworth, his neighbour. They were all drawn to the place of execution in their habits. The arm of the martyred Prior was hung up over the entrance-gate of Charterhouse, as a warning to the other inmates of the fate that awaited them if they did not soon become more tractable; notwithstanding which, three of the principal monks were shortly afterwards likewise executed.

The monks elected another prior in the person of William Trafford, and for a short time longer they were allowed to continue the exercise of their religious life; until at length the end came, on June 10th, 1537, when Prior Trafford and the remaining monks resigned voluntarily their offices and surrendered the monastery to the king. The Prior was allowed a pension of £20, and the monks one of £5 each. Dugdale gives the sum of £642 0s. 4*d.* as the annual income of the monastery at the time of the dissolution.

Amongst the celebrated men who at different periods had been connected with Charterhouse was Sir Thomas More, who, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, lived here for nearly four years, but without being professed. There is much curious information to be obtained respecting Charterhouse and the visitation of the Commissioners, from the MSS., letters, and other documents preserved in the British Museum, from which I have derived many of the foregoing particulars. The learned work lately published by Father Gasquet upon the period of the Reformation and the Dissolution

of the Monasteries is also deserving of the most careful reading.

We now enter upon the second stage in the history of Charterhouse—the historical and domestic period. After the final departure of the monks, the buildings for some time remained unoccupied, except as storehouses for the king's "hales and tents", or tents and pavilions. Penant says the site was granted in 1542 to John Bridges and Thomas Hall for their joint lives, but they appear to have retained it for only a short time, as the king presented the land and buildings to Sir Thomas Audley, Speaker of the House of Commons, from whom the whole property passed to Sir Edward North in 1545. He at once commenced the demolition of the buildings; the monks' cells and the church also were entirely destroyed, with the exception of the south and end walls. Other parts of the buildings were also pulled down, the ground cleared, and laid out as a garden. He converted other portions of the monastery into a dwelling-house, and built many additional rooms. The present entrance-gateway is considered to be his work. Queen Mary created him Baron North, as a reward for his services to her. Upon the accession of Princess Elizabeth to the throne in 1558, she stayed here for several days, the guest of Lord North, on her way from Hatfield to London; and three years later she again visited Charterhouse, and remained four days. Lord North died in 1564, and the year following his son Roger sold Charterhouse to the Duke of Norfolk for £2,820. This Duke made Charterhouse his residence until he got into trouble through engaging in the conspiracy for restoring Mary Queen of Scots to her throne, upon which he was committed to the Tower; and though released after some months' detention, he again conspired and resumed his schemes for marriage with the Queen of Scots: but his secret correspondence and papers being discovered, he was summarily dealt with by being once more confined in the Tower, and executed in 1572. Charterhouse then became forfeited to the Crown, but after the death of the Queen of Scots, Elizabeth re-granted Charterhouse, with the other estates of the Norfolks, to such members of the

family as were then living, and Charterhouse became the possession of Lord Thomas Howard, the second son of the deceased Duke. From this nobleman, who resided here, the house became known as Howard House, and to him and his father, the Duke just mentioned, are due many of the alterations in the old buildings to fit them for the purposes of a nobleman's mansion of the Elizabethan days. Thus, the grand staircase is a fine example of the style of the period. The tapestry-chamber is considered to be the work of the Duke of Norfolk (1565 to 1571). The great hall (formerly the prior's guesten-hall) was considerably altered at the same period, the galleries, the screen, and the arched and panelled hammer-beam roof being of that date.

This Lord Howard, who was Earl of Arundel in right of his mother, died in 1590, and Howard House became the property of his brother, the Earl of Suffolk, who, a few years later, in 1611, sold it to the man whose name is inseparably connected with the great institution he so generously founded, the still-existing hospital and school of Charterhouse, Thomas Sutton, for the sum of £13,000. The original foundation was for eighty poor men and forty poor boys, but the generous founder was not spared to see what success would be the result of his noble institution, for, only a few weeks after executing his deed of gift, in December of the same year, 1611, he died. An elaborate monument in the chapel is erected to his memory over his last resting-place (for he is buried there), as the most appropriate spot for his interment, in the opinion of his executors, to whom he left the disposal of his body by his will: "to be buried where and in what sort it should seem meet and convenient to them, and with the least pomp and charge that might be."

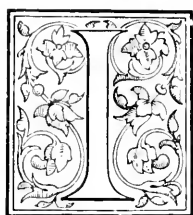




CAVES AND PASSAGES UNDER THE BRITISH FORTRESS OF PEN-Y-GAER, CONWAY VALLEY.

BY LADY PAGET.

(Read at the Conway Congress, August 23rd, 1897.)



It was only in the winter of 1897 that the writer was told that there were caves and a passage under the prehistoric fortress of Pen-y-Gaer, situated in the Conway valley. Accordingly, with Mr. John Jones, of Hafod-y-Rhiw, Dwygyfylchi, as interpreter, she drove to Tally-bont, a small inn on the Trefriw road from Conway, and was there met by another quarryman from Llanbedr (in which parish Pen-y-Gaer is situated), who knew from boyhood about the caves, and the remains of other old buildings at the base of the mountain.

At a short distance from the inn, the mountain stream from Llyn Dulyn, running on the south side of Pen-y-Gaer, was crossed; and then by passing through a gate on the left-hand side a rough pathway led to the site of the old "castell", part of which has been converted into a cottage. This cottage, at the present time, contains under the hearthstone an entrance into a subterraneous passage connected with the lower cave, which has its opening on the south side of Pen-y-Gaer by the side of the mountain stream. The water being high, an entrance into the cave was with difficulty made by the two quarrymen, who on measuring the cave found that it was 23 yards 6 ins. long, 1 yard and 1 ft. wide, with a circular

hole in the floor apparently of some depth, though only one yard in circumference. Water being in this cave prevented the men from examining the farthest end, and they returned with a plentiful supply of young bats that they found in the interior of the cave.

The second cave, situated near the waterfall, could not be reached on account of the quantity of water after the late rains. But the writer remembers that in the year 187-, being a dry summer, she was able to stand on the rocks above the waterfall and see the entrance to the upper cave under the fortress of Pen-y-Gaer, to which, unfortunately, she did not attach the same interest that she now feels sure they deserve.

The position of these caves, with the long underground passages, situated under an old fortress, is surely somewhat similar to the recent discovery at Stranocum, in the county of Antrim, as well as those of other caves which are connected by long passages under most of the ancient hill-forts both in Ireland and Wales. It would be interesting to have this point thoroughly established. In Wales, at the base of these hill-forts, the remains of, or traditional existence of, the chieftain's "castell", where his wife and family resided, is to be found. The "castell" is always on the side of the fortress where trees would best flourish, though at the present time the place is often only recognised by the word *Coed* (a wood), annexed to the name of some cottage raised by the side or on the site of the old "castell". It is in this way that a few stones remaining of the old "castell", with the cottage of Tyddyn-y-Coed, mark the site and secluded abode of the chieftain's family at the foot of Pen-y-Gaer. Passing from this spot northwards, the Holy Well of "Ffynon Pedr" was reached. Half-way through a large turnip field, by a hedge on the east side, a single yew tree was seen which marked the place of the sacred well, which, with the steps leading down to the water, is now entirely covered with soil; for, during late years, a practical farmer managed to drain through a pipe the water from this holy well into the adjoining field, and then covered the well, with the steps, with sufficient soil for agricultural purposes.

This well is not very far from the present old church of Llanbedr-y-Cennin, built on the site of the older Celtic church, and now dedicated to St. Peter. It is a curious fact that all the churches and chapels connected with the Celtic Pedr have been dedicated to St. Peter; and the usual remark in North Wales, if a man says his name is Peter, is for his companions to reply, "Oh! then you come from Llanbedr!"

Owing to the shortness of a winter's day, no farther investigations could be made.

Lady Paget regrets that when she wrote the Paper about "Some Ancient Stone Forts", in which Pen-y-Gaer is particularly mentioned, she was not aware of the lower cave and subterranean passage being connected with the fortress.





REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST GLORIES OF HATFIELD.

BY MISS EDITH BRADLEY.

(Read at the London Congress, 1896.)



IN a volume of an American journal, called *The Galaxy*, Henry James, junior, has thus recorded his impressions of Hatfield in an article entitled "Three Excursions."

"I had been assured that it was one of the most interesting of great English mansions; and as I learned that it was shown to strangers with an altogether exemplary liberality, the short journey of less than an hour seemed well worth making. I found the expedition interesting in the highest degree; and my only hesitation in attempting to make a note of my impressions arises from the very purity and perfection of those, from their harmonious character and exquisite quality. Such a place as Hatfield is, to my sense, one of the most beautiful things the world possesses: one of those things which we instinctively feel the vanity of any attempt to reproduce; just as we feel the indisposition to gossip about any deep experience. Sooner or later, however, our experience begins to reverberate; and these poor words may pass as a faint reverberation of Hatfield."

The records of Hatfield go back to Anglo-Saxon times, when it belonged to the Crown, as it did once again after the Dissolution. By the great Saxon king, Edgar, it was granted as a manor to the Abbot of Ely and his successors.

At the commencement of the twelfth century the revenues of Ely monastery having reached great dimensions, the "golden rhetoric" of the Abbot was successfully employed in persuading King Henry I to erect it into a bishopric. The diocese of Ely was formed, in 1109, by the Isle of Ely and county of Cambridge, the

manors belonging to the Church being divided between the bishops and the monks. Hence Hatfield obtained its name of Bishops' Hatfield, as it was one of their favourite places of residence, several of the Bishops of Ely—who generally held important posts in the State—dying here. For instance, Bishop John Barnet, Lord Treasurer to Edward III, died at Hatfield, June 7th, 1379; also Philip Morgan, 1434, and his successor, Cardinal de Luxemburgh, Archbishop of Rouen, and Bishop of Ely 1443.

It was, however, Bishop John Morton, 1478. Chancellor of England and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who "bestowed great cost upon his house at Hatfield", as well as on Lambeth Palace (the present gatehouse is all that remains of his work at Lambeth), the Divinity Schools and S. Mary's Church at Oxford. He died September 1500, and was buried in the Crypt at Canterbury, where a sumptuous monument was erected to his memory.

With the Reformation, however, a shadow came over the glories of Hatfield, as elsewhere. Dr. Thomas Goodrich, Canon of Westminster, was made Bishop of Ely 1534; he was one of Henry VIII's privy councillors, and tutor to Prince Edward; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, being a zealous and bigoted reformer himself, he imbued his gentle, if not weak-minded, pupil with that puritanical spirit which caused him to finish the work of destruction begun so ably by his father, and demolish hundreds of beautiful chantry chapels in our churches and cathedrals which had been erected to the glory of God by pious and earnest men of old.

Certain it is that about this time Hatfield became again attached to the Crown, having been exchanged for certain priories in Cambridge.

In the now royal palace—of which little remains but the stables—Edward grew up with his sister, the Princess Elizabeth. Here, to both of them was brought the news of the death of the sovereign, and their own accession. From here they were both escorted by a loyal people along the twenty miles of road which led to London. The Prince, in feeble health, was too young

and inexperienced to maintain his power amid the unscrupulous ministers who surrounded him, and sank into an early grave before he had a chance of doing very much good or ill; whilst the Princess Elizabeth, however much her personal character may savour of meanness and vanity, was undoubtedly one of the best sovereigns by whom our country has ever been ruled, during a long reign of unexampled national glory and prosperity.

It is a pleasant thought that Hatfield and all its beautiful surroundings had not a small hand in moulding the character and mind of this really great woman. In a case in the house is preserved a hat belonging to the Princess; and the story runs that, when the panting nobles brought to Hatfield the news of Mary Tudor's death, they found her half-sister reading under an oak tree in the park. She rose, and made her way back to the house, in such haste that the hat fell from her head, was picked up by reverent servants, and has been safely preserved ever since.

One of the most prominent statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's reign was the Lord Keeper, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. His large fortune enabled him to build three palaces for himself: one in the Strand, where he maintained eighty persons in family besides those in attendance at Court. Here also he kept a standing table for gentlemen, and two others for persons below that degree, which were always served whether Lord Burghley were present or not. The second palace was Burghley House in Northamptonshire, and the third Theobalds Park in Hertford, which was his favourite home; here all his children and descendants, to the number of thirty, constantly assembled round his hospitable table; and here he freely indulged his love for gardening, which he carried to perfection according to the tastes of the time.

Burghley's second son, Sir Robert Cecil, received his Majesty, James VI of Scotland, at Theobalds, on his journey to London to accept the English Crown.

Such a contrast did this home present to gloomy Scotland, that James begged Cecil to exchange Theobalds for Hatfield. In this way the present site passed into the hands of the Cecils, and Sir Robert became ere long

the first Marquis of Salisbury. He pulled down the old palace (the part now used for stables alone remains), and erected the present mansion, which was completed in 1611. The architect is unknown: some say Cecil designed it himself, but Mr. P. T. Robinson, in the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, published 1833, thinks it more probable that John Thorp, the architect of Burghley House, was also responsible for Hatfield, as there is a similarity of style. Others, again, attribute it to John of Padua.

With the exception of the east wing, destroyed by fire early in this century, Hatfield remains as it was in 1611. Still the home of the Salisbury family, we may hope it will long continue in their hands.

I will conclude my few remarks by another reference to Henry James. He calls Hatfield:

“One of the most satisfactory of human institutions. The last impression it made upon me was the force of circumstances. You cannot spend an afternoon there without feeling that circumstances are the major part of life; and if you go there disposed to say that they are literally everything, there is nothing in Hatfield that will contradict you. Everything, in fact, will seem to say to you that, to have all that embodied tradition, that preserved picturesqueness, that domestic grandeur, as the background of one's personal life, is a pure gain, and not to have such things a dead loss. A place like Hatfield is deeply aware of its own preciousness, and that is the argument it will hold. The wandering American, at least, will feel that he best consults the harmony of the occasion by assenting. The moral of mellow façade and quiet terrace, of oaken chambers and Elizabethan trees, will seem to him to be that we are made up by the things that surround us, and that such things as these make us up supremely well. He will find it impossible not to believe that they mould the character, that they refine the temper, that they make the whole nature strong and exquisite. How can he refuse to believe it? How can he be guilty of the incivility of not supposing that the people who have allowed him to pass his charming day have moulded characters and exquisite natures?”





NOTES ON
SPECIMENS OF SIMPLE HEAD-STONES
FOUND IN STONE DISTRICTS,
WHERE THEY MARK THE
SLEEPING-PLACES OF THE HUMBLER CLASSES.

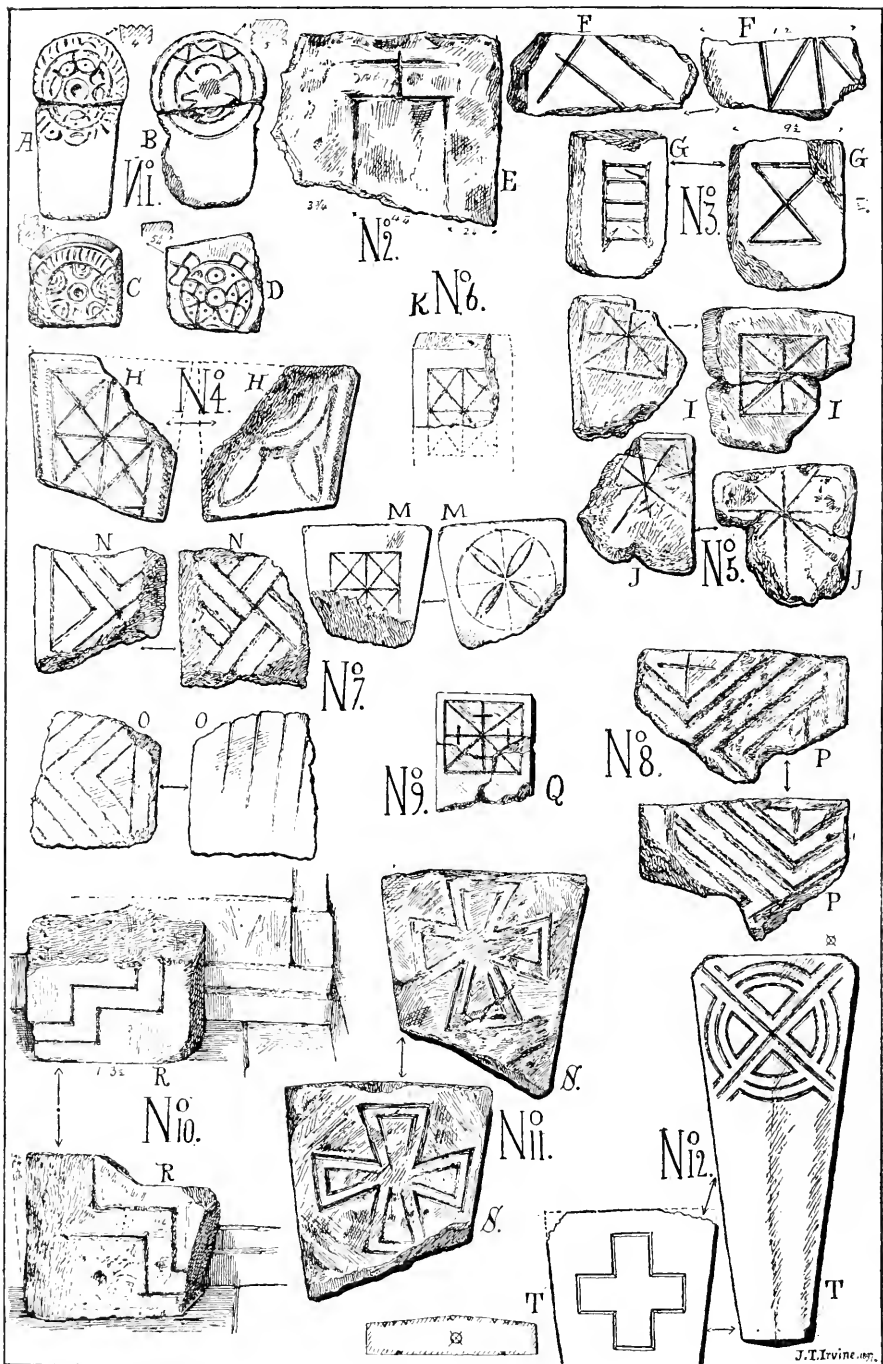
BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(*Read March 9th, 1897.*)



THE primitive rudeness they present, both in workmanship and in ornamentation, render them overlooked, or considered of an age far more remote than that to which they actually belong. As masons in mediæval times kept stone coffins with their lids ready for sale, so a variety of headstones appear also to have been kept for those whose purses could only reach this simpler class of memorial. Better specimens had their tops rounded, and the edge often moulded, but the sides left plain to be filled in afterwards to the purchaser's fancy. When obtained and brought home by the possessor to his village, where possibly no actual mason was resident, it is tolerably evident that the more generally present local smith was called in with his rude points to add such artistic additions. Those singular headstones found when G. E. Street, R.A., repaired the late Norman church of Adel, in Yorkshire, are samples;¹ whose moulded *edges* evidence not very early Norman date—

¹ See in the *Architectural Societies' Reports*, Part for 1871, for some found at Thurnby Church, Lincolnshire, even more remarkable and perhaps older; and the Paper thereon (illustrated) by John Hunt, Esq.



their *faces* the local blacksmith's art. The foundations of the former church are said to be north-east of the present one in the very same churchyard (see No. 1, A, B, C, D). In the reports of the Yorkshire Society, others still more rudely marked are given (see note, p. 298).

Specimens of the rudest and simplest types are not uncommon in the stone districts of Northamptonshire, as well as of their gradual change and improvement, until that later age when their designs melt away into the more richly ornamented and costly body-stones, thus thoroughly showing the progress of society under the influence of peace and regular government, and the wealth thus diffused among the masses. Of the earliest class is No. 2 E, sketched where it lay thrown out among fragments of rude native limestone; part of the old walls undergoing underpinning at Croyland Abbey, and where it would be again shortly broken up for further concrete. This unwrought fragment had a small cross and base line incised on it. The next illustrations, No. 3 F F, G G, are of stones found in the porch walls of Castor Church, when lately undergoing careful and conservative repairs. In F an ornament occurs on both sides, one of which is a cruciform design, a custom usual afterwards.

In No. 4 H (from same place) a fresh advance is seen. (The stone is from same walling.) It now takes a wedge outline to more readily enter the ground, as also seen in fragments used as wall stones in the lantern walls of Peterborough Cathedral, see No. 5, I J. Compound cruciform designs follow (as in No. 5), where the ordinary cross is again crossed with that of St. Andrew; and in No. 6, K, a fragment which in 1886 was preserved in the north choir aisle (or chapel) of Yarwell Church: a design which is again seen on No. 4 (I), already mentioned, and preserved with others at Castor by the good feeling and interest taken in such matters of Mr. Hailes, mason, of that village. The next specimen is of special interest from having on the principal face a sunk cross, No. 7, M (X O), connecting it at once with the Late Norman or even Early English period; Body stones. This and X O were found during repairs of Thornhaugh Church, executed under orders of Messrs. Clark and Micklethwaite, archi-

fects, and are still preserved in the church. The fragment *x* retains sufficient to suggest what its main face was; while in *o* the rudeness of design renders it questionable. Compare with these No. 8, *p*, where, in a fragment found under the west front of Peterborough Cathedral in 1896, small crosses almost as rude as that on the fragment from Croyland are seen, with what must be intended for St. Andrew crosses. In No. 9, *q*, also from Thornhaugh, we have an interesting specimen of the headstone now making an advanced improvement in design. The Roman cross is here again united to the St. Andrew's, but the *arms* of the former are also themselves crossed: may we not suspect that the sleeper had visited the Christian kingdom of the Holy Land?

The progress in these headstones becomes now so rapid that their designs are seen to have much in common, both in size and ornamentation, with ordinary body-stones; and a repetition of the cross appears *on both sides*, as in No. 10, *rr*, a fragment preserved in the Saxon tower of Barnac Church, and described as found used as a wall stone in the remains of the stone seat found to have existed around the inside of that tower when its base was excavated in or about 1845. A cruciform design existed on *both* its sides, the same being yet recoverable, and is so far akin to one, No. 11, *ss*, used as a mere wall-stone in that sleeper wall of Norman date (1117) which crosses the opening of the arch from the north aisle of the nave of Peterborough Cathedral into its north transept.

The Barnac stone, again, closely connects with late Norman body-stones, as in the case of No. 12, *tt*, (one found outside the very same transept): and also the Thornhaugh stone, *u*: and gives evidence both of the connection among such designs, as well as their continued use to a date as late as 1200 or thereabouts at least.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3RD, 1897.

T. BLASHILL, Esq., V.-P., *Hon. Treasurer*, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

The Right Honble. the Lord Mostyn, President, Mostyn Hall,
North Wales.

Robt. Hovenden, Esq., F.S.A., Heathcote, Park Hill Road,
Croydon.

Richd. Clout, Esq., Brown House, West Malling, Kent.

Mrs. M. O. Hart, c/o. Mrs. Stoneham, 18, Wickham Road,
S. John's, S.E.

Frank Ashley Barrett, Esq., The Hollies, Mason Hill, Bromley,
Kent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :—

To the Society, for “Smithsonian Reports”, 1894-5, for a Smithsonian
14th Annual Report”, Parts 1 and 2, and “15th Annual
Report, Bureau of Ethnology”, 1892, 3, 4.

„ „ for the “United States National Museum Reports”,
1893-4.

„ „ for the “American Historical Association’s Annual
Report”, 1895.

„ „ for the “United States Coast and Geodetic Survey
Report”, 1895, Parts 1 and 2.

„ „ for the “Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of
Natural Science”, vol. vi, 1889-97.

„ „ for the “Memoir of George Brown Goode”, 1851-1896,
by S. P. Langley, 1897.

„ „ for the “Chicago Academy of Science, 39th Annual
Report”, 1896.

- To the Society*, for the "Lichen Flora of Chicago and Vicinity", by W. W. Calkin.
- " " for "The Archaeological Journal", vol. liv, No. 214.
- " " for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland" vol. vii, Parts 2 and 3.
- " " for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects", vol. iii, Part 1, New Series.
- " " for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society", vol. xx, Part 1.
- " " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 1897, Parts 3 and 4.
- " " for "Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, vol. vi, Part 3.
- " " for "Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine", vol. xxix, No. 87.
- " " for "Annales de la Société d'Archæologie de Bruxelles."
- " " for "Mémoires de la Société de la Morinie ; Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin".

The Rev. J. Cave-Browne exhibited a curious earthenware jar, in the shape of an Amphora, but with one ear, or handle, missing. After some discussion, the members present agreed that it was probably of mediæval or Spanish workmanship. The remaining handle had a boss marked like a screw at the junction with the body of the jar ; and at the neck, in the centre between the handles, there was a mouth-piece such as is used by the peasants in Spain for drinking from.

Mr. I. C. Gould exhibited numerous examples of James the Second's base coinage, and read the following notes upon

IRISH GUN-MONEY AND PEWTER COINAGE.

It will be in the knowledge of all that after the collapse of the cause of James II in England, in December 1688, he retired to France, but in March 16⁸⁸₈₉ landed in Ireland with some 5,000 troops, and soon after entered Dublin. What followed is matter of history—for our purpose it is sufficient to recall the various expedients resorted to by James to raise money to carry on the war.

First, a proclamation was made increasing the value of English and other coins in circulation : the English guinea became 24s., the half-guinea 12s., the crown piece 5s. 5d., the half-crown 2s. 8½d., shilling 1s. 1d., sixpence 6½d.

In addition to English coins, the proclamation increased the value of foreign coins, French, Spanish, Portuguese, etc., showing incident-

ally that commercial transactions involving the coins of those countries existed to some extent.

Failing by this means to procure enough money, James next caused sixpenny pieces of brass and copper to be made ; these not being sufficient, shillings and half-crowns followed. These coins carry the month of issue in addition to the year—a peculiarity of some interest to collectors. Old brass cannons, bells, copper vessels, pots, kettles, etc., were melted down for the manufacture. It will be seen that the half-crown die was bold and striking, making a not-unhandsome coin.

Next has to be recorded the issue of penny and halfpenny pieces of pewter, with the head of James on the obverse, the harp and crown on the reverse. These had a piece of Prince's metal affixed in the centre of the design. In April 1690 crown pieces were made of white metal, having the figure of the King on horseback on one side, and a crown with arms on the other, a piece of Prince's metal being inserted. Very few of these white-metal crowns seem to have got into circulation ; it has been said that none did. A fine specimen in the coin room of the British Museum shows a large piece of the yellow metal in centre of one side, two plugs of the same showing on the other. This coin is dated 1690.

Another expedient adopted was the reduction in weight of the shilling and half-crown pieces of brass and copper, without decrease of their nominal value.

Now we come to that which may be described as the crowning expedient for raising the King's exchequer: the half-crown brass and copper pieces were called in and re-stamped with the crown dies, thus raising at a stroke this bit of base metal to the value of 5s. The obliterating process was in many cases so imperfectly carried out that we can still see traces of the original half-crown design.

Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage* puts the issue of James's base money at no less than £2, 163, 237, coined out of metal estimated to be worth only £6,495.

The question may well be asked, how all these wretched coins maintained their nominal values even for the few months of James II's struggle in Ireland. The answer is twofold: first, the people were assured by proclamation that all coins would be redeemed hereafter (that "hereafter" never came): second, that the proclamation of the various issues implied that the penalty for high treason would be inflicted upon those who counterfeited the coins, and the Provost-Marshal and others are said to have declared that those who refused them would be hanged. Ware's *History and Antiquities of Ireland*, translated from the Latin by W. Harris (edition 1764), says:—

"In this wretched sort of money the Popish soldiers were paid their subsistence, and the Protestant tradesmen and creditors obliged to receive it for their goods and debts : and it was reasonably computed that they lost upwards of £60,000 a month by this cruel stratagem."

Of course, the triumph of William III at the battle of the Boyne, on July 1st, 1690, put an end to this forced circulation. James' half-crown passed for a penny, and his other coins for less. It should, however, be noted that for some time after this event, some of James II's followers continued to issue coins from Limerick, or to re-stamp older issues ; some are said to have been dated so late as 1693.¹

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on "Rhuddlan", which has been printed at p. 266. The Chairman made some remarks on the architecture of the castle, pointing out that it was the earliest of the Edwardian fortresses in North Wales, and exhibits this fact in its formation, which is of the simplest kind, consisting merely of the great Keep, with lofty curtain walls, and six corner towers, two on the north-west corner and two on the south-east, with the great gateways between, and one on each of the other corners, loopholed for enfilading, and thus preventing any attempt at undermining the walls on the part of an attacking force. A deep moat surrounded the castle. The marsh, leading down to the river, lay 30 ft. below. Another tower on the outer defences, guarding the approach from the river, exhibits a very early form of building. Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, Mr. Worsfold, and others, took part in the discussion.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH NOVEMBER, 1897.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries",
2nd Series, vol. xvi, Nos. 3, 4, with Title and Index to vol. xvi.
" " for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire
Archaeological Society", vol. xix, Part 2.
" " for "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries,
Stockholm", a large parcel, containing copies from the com-
mencement of the Society.

¹ Those who care to look further into this matter will find information in Ware's *History and Antiquities*, 1739, etc. ; Simon's *Essay*, 1749 ; Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, 1817, etc., Aquilla Smith's Papers in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 1854 ; and in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1870.

Mr. Earle Way exhibited some antiquities from Egypt : two bronze figures representing Osiris, and Isis and Horus, of about 700 B.C. ; also a specimen of cloth from a mummy recently unrolled, probably of the date of 1300 to 1500 B.C. The fine texture of the cloth was remarked upon, and the Chairman mentioned that a manufacturer once said to him : " I wish we could make cloth of such fineness with our machinery to-day".

Mr. Way also submitted two ancient bronze sheep-bells, and some Roman coins of Carausius, Constantius, and Constantine, found lately in excavating for a sewer in Union Road, Southwark, and a shilling of Charles I.

Mr. T. Blashill then read a paper entitled " Some Illustrations of Domestic Spinning". He said that spinning, except in its modern revival, might be considered a lost art, and although it went out in England only some fifty or sixty years ago, it is as completely forgotten by the world as if it had for centuries been unknown. From time to time spindle-whorls, discovered in deep excavations, had been exhibited at meetings of the Association, and implements used in spinning were to be seen in the most ancient Egyptian sculptures, and spindles with the whorl attached were found in Egyptian excavations. As regards hand-spinning with spindle and distaff, there had been no progress through all the ages, and the most ancient specimens extant might be used by women who in remote countries practise hand-spinning to-day. Mr. Blashill very graphically described the mode of spinning with the fingers only, without distaff, practised by the women of Southern Italy up to quite recent years, and the use of the spinning and wool wheels he had brought for exhibition. The great wool wheel was in use as early as the fourteenth century, and lingered on in Wales down to recent times. The ordinary spinning-wheel was known as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, being at first turned by hand and afterwards by a treadle. The earliest spinning-wheel extant in this country is believed to be in the British Museum, and is of the fourteenth century. In former times the art of spinning was a necessary accomplishment for women and girls, and perhaps its use was rendered more popular by the idea that it promoted grace in the female form. In the year 1721 an aged lady left considerable property for the purpose of endowing a school for spinning. The art was practised in this country in the drawing-rooms and servants' halls of country houses as late as 1830. In the museum at Constance there are several good examples of spinning-wheels, but their use is now forgotten. Rabbit wool is spun at Aix, in Savoy, at the present time. A large number of engravings and drawings illustrated the paper.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Mrs. Collier remarked that the Sutherland folk still use the spinning-wheel, and Mr. Way said that "homespun" is made in the Isle of Lewis at the present day.

Speaking of Egypt, Mrs. Marshall said that the Bedouin use their fingers only and no distaff.

Mr. Gould mentioned that in pulling down a house in Essex twenty-eight years ago a distaff was found, but its use was utterly unknown.

Mr. Astley pointed out that the articles most frequently found in Anglo-Saxon sepulchres are the spindle-whorls, without one of which apparently no respectable woman could be decently buried. These whorls are small roughly-spherical objects of stone or bone, about an inch or more in diameter, and pierced with a hole for the spindle; and they continued in use at least as late as the sixteenth century, for they are mentioned by Sir Thomas More as being in the hands of every maid-servant. He also mentioned that the wheels used in the Princess of Wales's schools at Sandringham were just the same as those upon the table.

Mr. Patrick announced that during some recent alterations at the Bishop's Palace at Peterborough, part of the great drain of the monastery had been laid open, the line of which was previously unknown.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST DECEMBER, 1897.

T. BLASHILL, Esq., *Hon. Treasurer*, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Secretary*, stated that the Council that afternoon had considered the letter of a correspondent referring to the threatened demolition of the ancient and interesting "Whitgift Almshouses" at Croydon, and it had been resolved that a letter should be addressed to the Mayor and Corporation, and the governors of the charity respectively, asking them carefully to consider whether it is not possible to preserve these useful and picturesque historical buildings, which are in good repair, and apparently fulfil their purpose, and at the same time add so much to the attractiveness of the town.

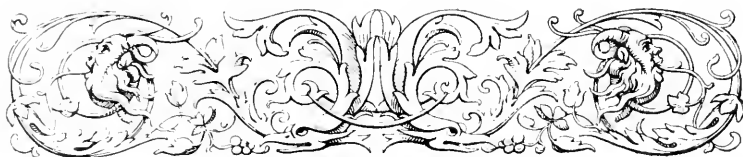
The second portion of a most interesting paper was read by Mr. Andrew Oliver on the buildings of "Vanished London". Mr. Oliver commenced by paying a tribute to Mr. Walford for his investigations into the past conditions of London, and spoke of him as the "Stowe" of the nineteenth century. He then reminded the Society that in a previous paper he had shown them something of London in the time of George IV and Beau Nash. To-night he wished to exhibit something

of absolutely vanished London. The paper was abundantly illustrated by a large number of scarce and valuable old engravings of the London of the last two centuries and the early years of the present century, and by three maps of London in 1563, 1713, and 1825. Amongst others exhibited were views of Fumival's Inn, Guildhall Chapel, the Stocks Market, and Ely Palace as it appeared about the year 1536. In this building died Chancellor Hatton in 1591. The last of the Hatton family died in 1772, when the property reverted to the Crown. Views of Holborn Hall in Shoe Lane, the site of which is now occupied by Messrs. Pontifex & Co.'s works, and of Bangor House, were exhibited and described.

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman and others took part, and Mr. Williams remarked that the first house rebuilt after the Great Fire of 1666 was that situated at the corner of Friday Street.

Mr. Gould also spoke as to the actual position of Ludgate, and mentioned that when pulling down Sir Paul Pindar's house in Bishopsgate, of the date of 1530, it was found to be built entirely of oak, which had been whitewashed over, and not of timber and plaster as supposed. The front elevation of this picturesque house is now in the South Kensington Museum





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Diary of a Tour through Great Britain in 1795. By the REV. WM. MACRITCHIE, Minister of the Parish of Clunie, Perthshire. (London : Elliot Stock).—The worthy Scotch minister who wrote the *Diary* of his Tour of which this book consists, possessed not only an observant eye, but also a power of describing in graphic style what he saw as he journeyed through Great Britain a little over one hundred years ago. His book, therefore, forms a very interesting picture, both of the impressions made by England and the English of the end of the eighteenth century upon a sympathetic Scotchman of that age, and also of the manners and customs of our grandfathers at that time. London was the Mecca of his pilgrimage, and he travels thither by easy stages through Kendal, Lancaster, Buxton, Sheffield and Leicester. After spending a fortnight in town, he returns home through Cambridge, Leeds, Durham, Newcastle and Edinburgh. Whether he is describing the scenery of Westmoreland, or Derbyshire, or Yorkshire, or the life of the great city, the same keen eye that allows nothing of interest to pass unnoticed may be remarked ; but to us, as archaeologists, it is the latter, with his portraits of men and morals and manners, that appeals most forcibly. Vauxhall and Ranelagh were then in full swing, and the same scenes were then enacted nightly under the oil-lamps and in the dimly-lighted streets that take place now under the glare of the gas-lamps and the electric light, reminding us that though it is true in many respects that "*tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*", yet human nature remains ever a constant quantity. On the other hand, the good man's moralisings are somewhat tedious—as those of eighteenth-century writers are apt to be—and we must take heed not to fall into the same error. Mr. MacRitchie was, moreover, an ardent botanist, and never fails to note any rare or curious plants he observed during his travels. We can heartily recommend this book to the attention of our readers.

A History of Cambridgeshire. By the Rev. EDWARD CONYBEARE, Vicar of Barrington, Cambridge. "Popular County Histories Series." (London : Elliot Stock).—The Series of "Popular County Histories"

is worthily continued in the volume before us, and the publisher did well in committing the History of Cambridgeshire to Mr. Conybeare. The result is a volume full of information carefully sifted and weighed, with evidences of research on every page, yet so arranged, and written in so flowing and easy a style, that the reader is imperceptibly drawn on, and lays the book down with regret. It is both learned and readable, and thus fulfils the best idea of what a "popular" history should be. In days not so long gone by it was thought sufficient to commence an historical account of our country with the invasion of Julius Caesar; but inasmuch as Cambridgeshire has had a large share in contributing to the flood of light which in recent years has been shed on prehistoric times, owing to the coprolite¹ industry, which has caused a very considerable part of the surface of the Cam Valley and other parts to be thoroughly explored, Mr. Conybeare has been able to dive back into the dim and distant past, and to begin with the evidences of human intelligence shown by the rough flint implements and incised antlers of deer which mark Palaeolithic man. This race disappeared, and, after the passing of ages, we begin to find traces of the re-occupation of the country by man in the long barrows and polished flint implements² of the earliest long-headed (dolichocephalic), Neolithic inhabitants. "We can picture them to ourselves, these brown-skinned beings, sometimes of huge stature (as the Neanderthal skull shows), but mostly diminutive, dwelling in the recesses of the forests, like the brown dwarfs (not improbably of the same race) in Central Africa at this day, and like them savage, spiteful, crafty, skilful in manufacturing weapons, and thus dreaded by the superior races forming settlements among them." So says Mr. Conybeare, and from this time, perhaps about 2500 B.C., the stream of life in our islands is continuous, and in the short, thick-set, black-haired men who are often to be met with among the Welsh, we see the strain of Neolithic blood asserting itself through all the intervening strata of Celtic, and Saxon, and Danish, and Norman descent. That these earliest races were not without intercourse with

¹ Coprolites are probably concretions from the softer tissues of various animals and plants living in a shallow sea, and are so numerous and so rich in phosphate of lime that it has been found worth while to unearth and grind them for manure whenever they occur within 25 ft. of the surface.

² The cave at Royston, used in mediæval times as a hermitage, and covered in at the Reformation, is a very interesting example of a pre-historic "quarry", whence the Neolithic people obtained their raw material. "It presents the usual features of their pits: a perpendicular shaft some 20 ft. deep, narrow enough to be climbed by means of footholds cut in the sides, and gradually opening out into a circular chamber, widened as the flint and surrounding chalk were dug away, the whole cave thus being shaped like a bottle."

other lands, even as far as China, is proved by the fact that beautiful jadite axe-heads have been found in their barrows, the raw material of which can only have been brought from Burmah or China, probably along well-known trade-routes, whose traces can still be discovered by the diligent explorer. Passing over the account of the Celtic invasions, which commenced probably in the sixth century B.C. ; of the great Icenic kingdom and its conquest, together with the rest of Britain, by the Romans ; of the Pax Romana, during which the country flourished for nearly 300 years, and the city of Camboritum probably occupied the present site of Cambridge ; of the troublous times that succeeded the departure of the Romans ; of the incoming of the Angles, and the founding of the Anglian kingdom, when the poor remains of the Britons were driven into the fens, to form there for some two centuries the independant kingdom of the Girvii ;¹ and of the incursions of the Danes, we come to the beginning of the tenth century, when the great children of Alfred, Edward the Elder, and his sister Ethelfled, "the Lady of the Mercians", reconquered the Danelagh and constituted the County of Cambridge as an administrative entity. Thence onwards the history of the county is unbroken ; and, though there are no natural boundaries, yet it has its own special and peculiar interest, and takes its own place in all the stirring events of our "long island story".

For more than five centuries the fortunes of Cambridgeshire centred round Ely, and Mr. Conybeare rightly marks the influence which the great Benedictine monastery in the Fens exercised on the surrounding district. Originally founded in 673 by S. Etheldred, daughter of Anna, King of the East Anglians, and herself, Queen of the Girvii, through her marriage with Tonbert, the Girvian chieftain, the first building was utterly destroyed by the Danes ; but under the great Edgar in 970 it arose from its ashes, and, boasting of the possession of no fewer than four shrines of canonized queens—S. Etheldred, the founder ; her sister, Sexburga, Queen of Kent ; her niece, Erminilda, Queen of the Mercians ; and yet another ruler, Werburga (whose body was procured by a pious fraud from the men of Dereham, in Norfolk), it commenced that career of wealth and importance which was only terminated by the Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII.

¹ As pointed out by Mr. Conybeare, this independent kingdom of the Girvii in what became afterwards known as the Isle of Ely, was carried down to later ages by the quasi-independence of the Isle under the peculiar jurisdiction of the abbey, granted to it by Edgar, so that, within its limits, it was not the "king's peace", but the "peace of the Abbot", and afterwards "of the Bishops", that was maintained or broken. This lasted till almost modern times.

Of the glories of Ely Cathedral no one who has ever seen it needs to be reminded, but it owes its preservation from the hand of the ruthless destroyer solely to the fact that it was the seat of a bishopric as well as a monastery. And how mutilated it is to day, the beautiful Lady Chapel bears witness. It was adorned throughout with sculptured representations of events in the life of the Blessed Virgin : but in 1541 every figure was deliberately hammered and chipped into shapelessness under the sacrilegious "injunction" of the then Bishop, Thomas Goodrich.¹ Of the troublous times of the Reformation, and the still worse days of the Civil War, when the churches throughout the county were yet further despoiled of the stained-glass windows and all sculptured adornments which the followers of Goodrich had left, a succinct and graphic account is given by Mr. Conybeare.

Of the history of the University of Cambridge, which was founded as an offshoot from Oxford in 1209, and increased by students from Paris in 1229, amid the outburst of enthusiasm for learning—scholastic, it is true, but adapted to the age—which marked the beginning of the thirteenth century, a rapid summary is given, leaving details to a more special history of the University ; as also of the coming of the Friars and the great work which they did, here and elsewhere, in rekindling the dying embers of the religious life.

Meanwhile the history of the people is not forgotten, and a particularly interesting chapter is the one in which it is shown how the Anglo-Saxon gentry, the "King's Thanes" and Ceorls, completely disappeared after the Conquest, so that by 1086, in the *Doomsday Survey*, not one is to be found ; nor throughout the county was there a single proprietor bearing an English name : the fabric of Anglo-Saxon society was completely shattered, and the county seems never to have recovered from the shock.

Of the later history of the county, its markets and fairs, the establishment of horse-racing at Newmarket, and the renown of the world-famed heath, of the magnificent work by which the Fens have been gradually drained, and made not only healthy but useful for agricultural purposes, we are not concerned as antiquarians, though the pages in which this story is told are as interesting as any to be found in the book.

¹ It was doubtless under this "injunction" that the shattered fragments of the lovely alabaster reredos at Toft, with its rich and delicate colouring, were buried beneath the pavement. Similar cases occur in Norfolk, *e.g.*, at East Rudham, where, on the restoration of the church in 1876, fragments of a beautiful alabaster reredos, delicately coloured, were found buried beneath the high altar, and at East Barsham, near Walsingham, and other places.

The Appendix contains a vivid picture of the clothing and manner of life of the monks of Ely in the year 1334, giving the impression that the "religious" of the fourteenth century were refined and studious country gentlemen.

There is a complete Chronological Table, a copious Index, and altogether we have to thank Mr. Conybeare for having produced a book which is without doubt just what a "Popular County History" should be: interesting to the general reader, and not without value to the archaeologist.

Life in Early Britain: being an Account of the Early Inhabitants of this Island, and the Memorials which they have left behind them. With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. By BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, D.Sc., M.D., etc. (London: David Nutt).—The object of this handbook, the subject-matter of which formed originally a course of Lectures at Mason's College, Birmingham, is well set forth by Dr. Windle in his Preface. It is to act as an "Introduction to the study of Prehistoric Archaeology, and to the larger works of Sir John Evans and others". It is thus as the writer of a book for the general reader, who wishes to know something of Britain in prehistoric and early historic days, rather than for the professed archaeologist, that Dr. Windle would be judged, and from this point of view we have nothing but praise to accord him. He lays no claim to independent research, but as a populariser of the researches of others he has achieved success. After a brief introductory chapter, in which the whole range of his subject, from man's earliest appearance down to the incursions of the Danes, is unfolded in rapid outline, the author devotes one chapter each to Palæolithic and Neolithic man, two to the Bronze Period, three to the Roman occupation, and one to the Saxon. A very interesting chapter follows on early tribal and village communities, which is worth the serious consideration of those who are hoping great things from their recent resuscitation in the shape of Parish Councils; and a concluding chapter deals with the traces of the past races of Britain, in language, physical characteristics, and names of places.

We note that Dr. Windle preserves an open mind on the question of the existence of pre-Glacial man, and we think that he is right in saying that the general tendency of scientific opinion in the present day is to deny that existence, though undoubtedly strong indications, not amounting to proof, have been found in certain caves, which seem to point in that direction. On the other hand, Palæolithic man has left abundant and undoubted traces of his presence in Britain, then a part of the continent of Europe, not only in Kent's Cavern and other

natural caves, where his implements have been found, along with the cave-bear and other animals, but also in the river-drift implements



Fig. 1.—River-drift Stone Implement found at Reculver (*Sir John Evans*).
It is made from a flint pebble, and the rounded end is well adapted for being held in the hand.

(Fig. 1), which have been found in close proximity with the bones of the mammoth, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, elephant, wild horse and rein-

deer. He was a hunter and not an agriculturist, capturing his prey with rough spears and arrows, and his fish with barbed harpoons. His artistic abilities are well known, and two specimens, that of a naked man between two horses' heads, and the sketch of a mammoth on a piece of its own tusk, from the cave of La Madeleine in France, are depicted. In England, a portion of a rib, with the figure of a horse incised upon it, has been found in Derbyshire. The art of this period perished with its possessors, and is not found in any subsequent race, though from certain resemblances between it and that of the Eskimos, Professor Boyd Dawkins has inferred identity of race: in which theory, however, other ethnologists do not follow him.

Remains of Neolithic man abound in Britain, and a very graphic account of his life and habits, with illustrations of his weapons (showing the wonderful advance he had made upon his predecessor in skill

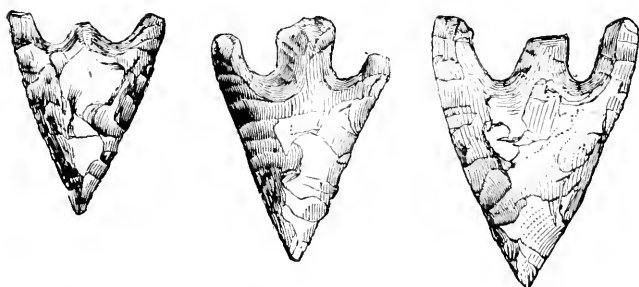


Fig. 2.—Flint Arrow-heads, English. (*Sir John Evans.*)

and the intelligent adaptation of means to ends), is given by Dr. Windle. Moreover, he no longer (or very seldom, and then probably for the purpose of concealment from foes) lived in caves, but in pit dwellings or hut circles. His well-shaped and polished arrow-heads (Fig. 2) have long been known to archaeologists, but it is only within recent years that their true object has been discovered. Under the name of "fairy-darts" and "elf-shots", and used as amulets or charms, they have been known all over Europe for centuries, and even, apparently, in the same way to the ancient Etruscans. The mode in which he buried his dead in the long barrows characteristic of the race is well known, and has been ably described by Mr. Andrew Lang:

"He buried his dead with his toes
Tucked up, an original plan,
Till their knees came right under their nose,
'Twas the manner of Primitive Man."

He seems to have had some idea of religion: he understood the surgical operation of "trephining"; he manufactured garments with bone needles, and he was an agriculturist as well as a hunter—another great advance in civilisation. Dr. Windle notes the probable consanguinity of the Neolithic race with the Ivernian or Iberian peoples of the Peninsula, represented to-day by the Basques on both sides of the Pyrenees: but we think the "probability" is more of a certainty, perhaps, than he would be inclined to allow. He also notes that the "Silures" of Tacitus, with their short stature, high complexion, and

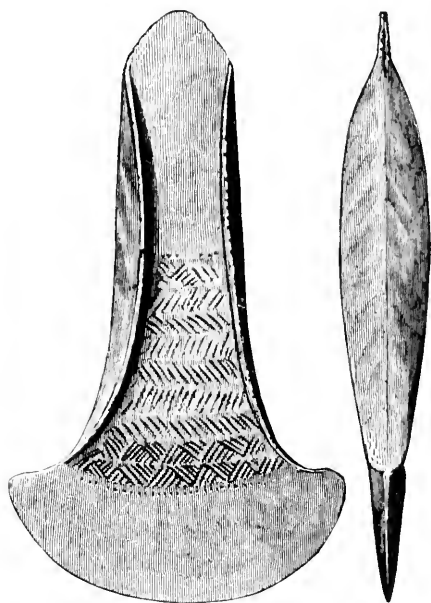


Fig. 3.—Flanged Bronze Celt, found in Dorsetshire. (*Sir John Evans.*)

Note the fluted chevron and indented herring-bone pattern.

dark curly hair, probably represent the Neolithic strain, through whom it has descended to many a so-called Welshman to-day.

Coming to the Bronze Period, which marks the immigration to our shores of the first Aryans, viz., the Celtic races, in two great streams at some centuries apart: 1st, the Gadhelic or Goidhel race, represented to-day by the Highland Gaels of Scotland, the Manxmen and the Irish; and, 2nd, the Brythons or Britons, now the Welsh, we note the still further advance in civilisation, consequent on the introduction of new materials for weapons and house utensils, first bronze (Fig. 3) and then iron, by means of which the earlier race

were easily subdued, and the arts and comforts of life increased. Dr. Windle gives a full description of the Crannoges or Lake-dwellings (Fig. 4), and the round barrows and dolmens which mark this period, and also of the great stone circles of Avebury and Stonehenge: though we note that he still leaves these mighty monuments of prehistoric times wrapt in the darkness which has so long enshrouded them. When will the magician arise, who, with his Ariel's wand, shall dispel the darkness, and tell us what they really were, and what purpose they served? With regard to the great Menhir (= standing stone) at Rollright¹ in War-

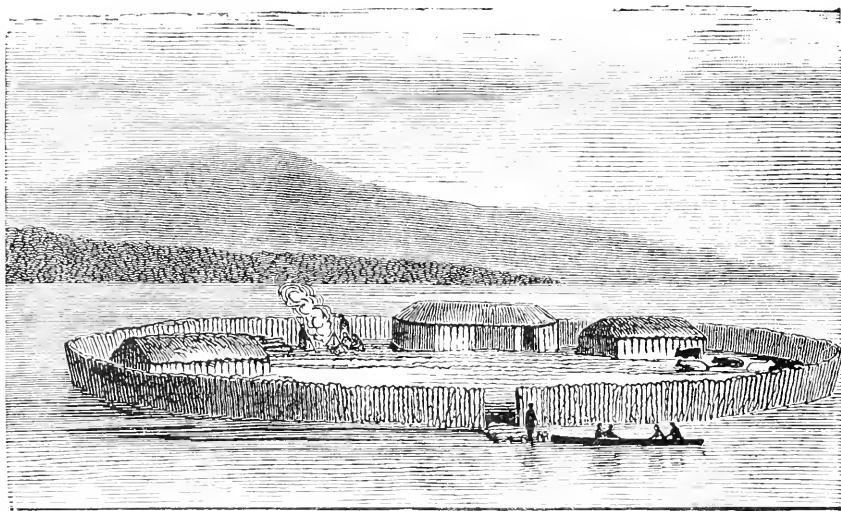


Fig. 4.—Restoration of an Irish Lake-dwelling.
(From Wood-Martin's "*Pagan Ireland*".)

wickshire, known as the "Kingstone," we think Dr. Windle is wrong in attributing its position to human agency. It bears evident marks of glacial action, and is, we think, undoubtedly one of those huge boulders borne from afar on the bosom of the ice, and left, as so many others have been in Yorkshire and elsewhere, when the glacial period gave place to a warmer age. Still, the great stones at Stonehenge and Avebury (Fig. 5), and many a smaller circle in Cornwall and other parts, placed where they stand by human hands, are a perennial puzzle to the archaeologist as to *how* it was done, and Dr. Windle's

¹ From *Rollandrice*=Roland's Realm, a curious illustration of the widespread range of the legends of Roland, Charlemagne's great Paladin.

reference to the Egyptian mode of transporting and placing great monoliths is a just and plausible solution of the difficulty.

When we reach Roman days and onwards, we stand in the clear light of history. Of the life and manners of our ancestors in Roman and Saxon Britain Dr. Windle gives a vivid description, aided by good illustrations and plans of Silchester, Bath, &c., for the former, and of an Anglo-Saxon tomb, fibula, castles and churches for the latter. Of the prevalence of Christianity in Roman Britain some interesting indications are noted, *e.g.*, not only the existence of the church at Silchester, but the fact that in the remains of the Roman villa at Chedworth, near Cheltenham, the letters χ and ρ , the monogram of Christ, have been found in several places in the Mosaic

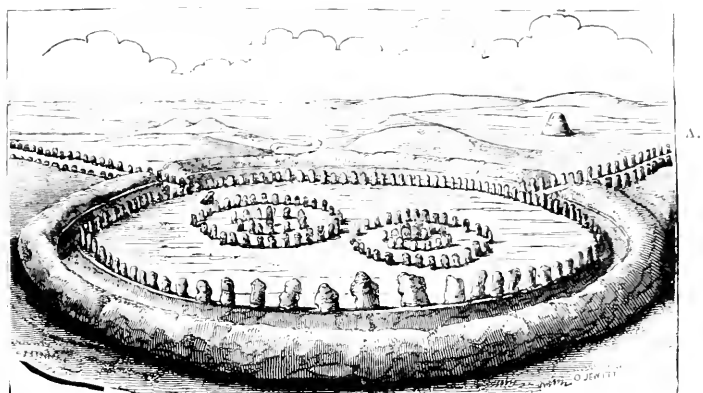


Fig. 5. — Conjectural Restoration of Avebury.
A, Silbury Hill in the distance.

pavement, which goes to show that Christianity was the religion not only of the humbler classes but of the wealthier class also. This Roman-British Christianity was almost entirely swept away by the tide of Saxon invasion.

The chapter on "Tribal and Village Communities" is clear and interesting, and the sketch of the evolution of the hall and manor-house from the primitive tribal dwelling in the clearing of the forest, is graphic, and in most respects a true picture. The agricultural arrangements of the primitive Saxon village community are well described, and the explanation given of the "Carucate" or hide of land, four of which in later times formed a knight's fee, is worth notice. The chapter on the traces of past races in Britain, to be found in language, physical characteristics, and place-names, is a fine piece of inductive reasoning, and one of the most interesting in the

book : to which we must refer our readers, if they would know how much of Neolithic, Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Danish man goes to make up that composite being whom we call the "Englishman" of to-day.

A capital map of early Britain, showing the Roman roads and places of importance, fronts the title-page. A list of places in England illustrating objects described in the text, and a full bibliography, are appended, while two copious indices complete the book.

We congratulate author and publisher (the latter of whom we must thank for permission to use some of the illustrations) on the production of this very readable and well-got-up work, not only for its interest to the unscientific mind, but for its real value to the archæologist.

London Signs and Inscriptions. By PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A., with an Introduction by HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A. (London : Elliot Stock).—In this book we have the outcome of Mr. Norman's investigations into a subject of which he is peculiarly fitted to be the exponent, and the result is an almost exhaustive description, and, in a large number of cases, a pictorial representation, of the signs and inscriptions which were still to be found the other day (though we fear some have already disappeared since the book was published, and others will shortly do so), in that overgrown wilderness of bricks and mortar which we call London.

The first thing that strikes the reader is the amazing variety of subjects, and of the modes in which similar subjects are treated, which are displayed in these old "signs". Mr. Norman divides them into "Human Signs"—mythological, legendary, and historical ; astronomical ; animals, real and imaginary ; birds and other sculptured signs, etc. Of the first, a good example is to be seen in the "The Boy and Panyer, Panyer Alley", a naked boy seated on a pannier, and holding what appears to be a *bunch of grapes* in his hand and foot (Fig. 1). The present sign dates after the Great Fire, but Stowe, writing in 1598, says that Panyer Alley "was so called of such a sign" ; and, confirming this, a Panyer, Paternoster Row, appears in a list of taverns of about the year 1430, recently discovered. A variety of explanations is given of this sign : as that the boy is handing out a loaf (*Liber Albus*, 1419, Mr. Riley's Introd., p. lxviii), Panyer Alley being a standing-place for bakers' boys, or that the boy is handing out a bunch of grapes (see above), the fruit-market not being far off ; but the most obvious explanation (which may be supported by the evidence of similar signs elsewhere) does not seem to have occurred to

our author, viz., that the naked boy is really an Infant Bacchus, which makes the bunch of grapes appropriate and significant.

Another very quaint sign is that of the "Three Kings", of which several specimens exist, one of the best being a bas-relief from Lambeth Hill, now in the Guildhall Museum; the king on the left having a crown, the others diadems, the date 1667 (Fig. 2). This was an appropriate sign for inns, the three kings being considered the patron saints of travellers; it is also said to have been used in England by mercers, because they imported fine linen from Cologne.

Among the astronomical signs the "Half-Moon" is the most frequent,



Fig. 1.—The Boy and Panyer.



Fig. 2.—The Three Kings.

as in Cheapside and the High Street, Southwark, but animals and birds form the majority of all the signs. Of these the stone sign of the house which succeeded the Shakspearian "Boar's Head", 1698, which is now in the Guildhall Museum, is a capital specimen; the "Cock", Fleet Street, is the best known, and the "Dog and Duck", in 1716, in the garden wall of Bethlehem Hospital, and a cock vigorously engaged in swallowing a serpent (1652) found in Church Lane, Chelsea, are the most curious. Among the animals are to be found the "Bull", the "Bull and Mouth" (one of the most famous coaching inns), the "Lamb and Flag", the "Fox", the "Griffin" (the City arms) the famous "Mermaid", and the "Unicorn"; among the birds, the

“Pelican”, the “Spread Eagle”, the “Swan with two Necks”, etc.

Some of the “Inscriptions” are very quaint ; but, for examples of these, we must refer the reader to Mr. Norman’s pages.

The two concluding chapters have little to do with “Signs and Inscriptions”, but the general reader is likely to find them the most interesting in the book. The one gives an amusing picture of the “Suburban Spas” which our grandfathers enjoyed so much in the last century ; such as “Islington Spa”, “Sadler’s Wells”, and “Bagnigge Wells”, the very names of which tell us how the great city has grown in the last hundred years ; while the last chapter describes “Two Old

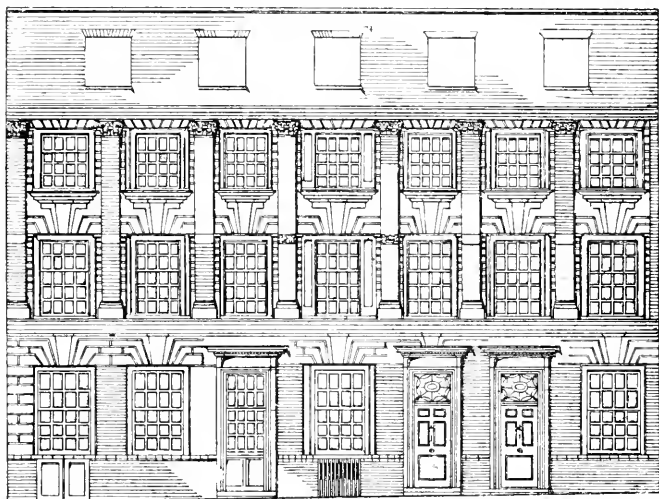


Fig. 3.—Two Old City Mansions.

City Mansions”, Nos. 8 and 9, Great St. Helens, erected in 1646, now demolished. The façade is said to have been by Inigo Jones (Fig. 3). The mansion was once the residence of Sir J. Lawrence, Lord Mayor in 1665 (the division being only made in 1750), and it was erected by a former Sir John. There was a beautiful staircase, Elizabethan in style, fine mantelpieces, and a beautiful and secluded City garden attached. This reminds us that in days when disused churchyards are being turned into open spaces and playgrounds, it would have been well if more of these old City gardens had been preserved for public purposes ; but the demon of building (and the value of the land) has caused most of them to disappear.

We can cordially recommend this volume, not only for the research

it exhibits into the bypaths of archaeology and for the excellence of the drawings, but also for the clear and pleasant style in which an out-of-the-way subject is elucidated.

The Oldest Register Book of the Parish of Hawkshead in Lancashire, 1568-1704. Edited by H. S. COWPER, F.S.A., author of *The Monumental Inscriptions of Hawkshead*, etc. With Introductory Chapters and four Illustrations. (London: Bemrose and Sons, Ltd.)—In this handsome monograph Mr. H. S. Cowper has done for the parish of Hawkshead what we hope in process of time to see done as far as possible for most of the parishes in England and Wales, viz., given a short introductory history of the parish, before transcribing the Register. Hawkshead is situated at the head of Esthwaite Water, between Coniston and Windermere, in North Lancashire, and forms a parish thirteen miles long by six wide, in a district isolated and lonely to-day; how much more so in the days when it first received its name of *Haukr-setr*, the settlement of the bold Viking Haukr, who led a band of “hardy Norsemen” thither, probably from the Isle of Man, some time in the ninth or tenth century. The chapelry of Hawkshead, first mentioned in the thirteenth century, was originally an appanage of the great Abbey of Furness, which was founded, in 1127, by Stephen, Count of Boulogne, and continued so until the Dissolution of the monasteries, when the lands were granted away, and the district began for the first time to have separate parochial existence, having become a place of importance, and the centre of the woollen trade for the whole district. We must refer our readers to Mr. Cowper’s pages for a graphic description of the life of the “hillmen”, shepherds rather than agriculturalists, during the Middle Ages and down to the time when the *Oldest Register* begins its record. This was in 1568, thirty years after the King’s Injunction was made, ordering “every minister to keep a book in which he was to write every Christening, Wedding, and burial”, and that the book should be kept “in one sure coller with two locks and keys, one for the minister and one for the Wardens”. At Hawkshead, as in the majority of parishes, the first entries must have been very carelessly made, and are all lost; while those from 1568 to 1599 have only been preserved, because they were transcribed in the latter year from the original paper volume to the parchment one in which they are now found.

Our readers must not suppose that this *Oldest Register* is a mere dry list of meaningless names. Many most interesting statistics relating to birth-rate and death-rate at different periods, to the names of the people, and details as to their morals and manners are extracted

by Mr. Cowper in his painstaking Introduction; and there is more besides—little bits of parish history, notices as to the weather, and other remarks which make one regret that some similar plan is not in vogue in the present day.

As illustrating the way in which our ancestors carried out the principle of Protection, we may observe that “in 1679 the curious Act was passed enforcing the burial of all bodies in woollen. Originally enacted in 1666, with the ridiculous object of encouraging and protecting the woollen trade, it had been generally disregarded. Accordingly, by the new and more strict regulation, it was ordered that an affidavit was to be produced within eight days of the burial. Fortunately, a large number of these affidavits have been preserved at Hawkshead, and the present writer himself rescued from the old parish chest no less than ninety, which were all more or less decayed from the damp and the inroads of mice. They are of great interest, as they serve to check the register itself, and enable the student to fill up all gaps when the register is damaged or unreadable. One hundred and ninety-four in all still exist, and all belong to the years 1680 to 1696 inclusive” (Introduction, pp. lxiii, lxiv). We give a specimen from the abstract printed in the Appendix:—“We, Isabell Hobson, wife of John Hobson, & Elinor Satterthwaite, Spinster . . . make oath that the corps of George Braithwaite, late of Coulthouse, interred within the p'ish of Hawkshead, in the County of Lancaster, the 6th day of March instant, was nott put in wrapt or wound up or buried in any shirt, shift, sheet or shroud made or mingled with flax, hempe (silke, beire, gold or silver), or other than what is made of sheepes wooll onely, according to an Act of Parliament, entituled an Act for burying in woollen onely. In witness whereof we have hereunto sett our handes & seales this tenth day of March Ano Dom'i, 1681. Ano Regni, &c.

Cap't et Jurat decimo
die Mensis Martii coram
me Ricardum Rawling
curatum de Coniston
Anno Dom. 1681.

ISABELL HOBSON
her + marke
ELLINOR SATTERTHWAITE
her + marke.”

We are tempted to quote from the *Register* itself, but space forbids us to give more than one or two extracts. Under the heading—

“1672, Aprill 8: Thomas Lancaster, who for poysonninge his owne family, was Adjudjt at the Assizes att Lancaster to bee carried backe to his owne house att Hye-way, where he lived: & was there hang'd before his owne doore till he was dead, for that very facte then

was brought with a horse & a carr into the Coulthouse meadows & forthwith hunge upp in iron Chaynes on a gibbet which was sett for that very purpose on the south-syde of Sawrey Casey, neare unto the Pooll = stang: (where the road from Colthouse to Hawkshead crosses the beck. In 1836, something like an ancient wooden causeway, constructed apparently to cross what was once a bog, was discovered near here) & there continued untill such tymes as hee rotted everye (?) bone from other”

One of the most interesting entries in all the *Register* is the following graphic account of a terrible storm: “Bee it remembered that upon the Tenth Day of June att nighte in the yeare of our lord the one thousand sixxe hundred eighty and sixxe there was such a fearefull Thunder with fyre & rayne w^h occasioned such a terrible flood as the like of it was never seene in these parts by noe man livinge; for it did throw downe some houses & milles & tooke Away seuerall briggs; yea, the water did run through houses & did much hurte to houses; besydes the water wash’t upp greate trees, stocks & greate stones a greate way off, & layd them on men’s ground; yea further the water did so fiercely run down the hye-ways & made such deepe holes & ditches in them that att seuerall places neither horse nor foote coulde passe; & besydes the becks and rivers did soe breake out of their races as they broughte exceedinge greate sand beds into men’s ground att many places, which did greate hurte the neuer like was knowne; I pray God of his greate mercy graunte that none which is now liveinge can neuer see the like again.”

Many other such gems are to be found in this *Oldest Register*, giving a lifelike picture of the people of this upland parish and their ways during a century and a half. Our members will find them in Mr. Cowper’s book, for which all antiquarians are in his debt.

Captain Cuellar’s Adventures in Connacht and Ulster, A.D. 1588. A Picture of the Times drawn from Contemporary Sources. By HUGH ALLINGHAM, M.R.I.A. To which is added “An Introduction and Complete Translation of Captain Cuellar’s Narrative of the Spanish Armada and his Adventures in Ireland”, by ROBERT CRAWFORD, M.A., M.R.I.A., etc. With Map and Illustrations (London: Elliot Stock).—It is always interesting and instructive to study events from the pages of contemporary documents, both for the light they throw on the events themselves, and for the corrections they afford to preconceived opinions. We have had stories innumerable of the “Spanish Armada” from the English point of view; this fascinating little book gives us the Spanish side, in the form of a narration, by one of the captains

of the ill-fated fleet, of the terrible voyage round the western shores of Ireland, when vessel after vessel went to pieces on the rocks, and of the writer's subsequent adventures among the "savages" (his own word) of Connaught and Ulster. As the title indicates, the book is twofold : the first Part containing Mr. Allingham's contribution, which is in fact a Paper written by him for *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology* in 1895, revised, and with new information (not then obtainable) added ; while the second Part consists of the original narrative of Captain Cuellar, translated by Mr. Crawford (with an Introduction), and is indeed the basis of Mr. Allingham's Paper. Capt. Cuellar's letter first saw the light in a work entitled *La Armada Invincible*, by a Capt. Duro, a Spanish naval officer, in 1885 ; was referred to by the Earl of Ducie in the same year in the *Nineteenth Century*, and by J. A. Froude, in 1891, in *Longman's Magazine* ; while in 1893 Prof. T. P. O'Reilly contributed a Paper on this subject to the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy : all of which demonstrates the importance of the document. Mr. Allingham's object in again treating of it was, more especially, from his intimate acquaintance with the locality, to verify the topography of the letter as far as possible, and to identify the places named.

Capt. Cuellar was in command of the *San Pedro*, one of three galleons which went ashore and were shipwrecked on the coast of Sligo, at a point called to this day *Carrig-na-Spaniagh*. Cuellar, grievously wounded by pieces of floating timber, managed to reach the shore, where he escaped the lot of most of those who survived the sea and were murdered by the wild Irish, by hiding by day and only creeping forth at night in the effort to procure food. He describes how he saw twelve of his compatriots hanging together within the walls of a deserted monastery, identified by Mr. Allingham as *Staad Abbey*, close to the shore ; and in another place he discovered four hundred of his murdered countrymen lying together on the beach. Wounded, footsore, half-naked and starving, he betakes himself inland, and after numerous adventures, shared by two companions whom he fell in with, and after being made practically a slave to a "wicked savage blacksmith", who had a wife "very beautiful in the extreme", he finally took refuge with a petty chieftain named McClancy, who treated him fairly well ; and who, when he was obliged to flee to the woods from the English forces under the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, who were scouring the country, left the Spaniards, now nine in number, to defend his castle. This was situated on an island in the midst of a lake, and was impregnable, except to an attack by artillery. After holding the castle for some time, Cuellar and his companions determined to attempt to get

out of so inhospitable a country; and at length, after many hair-breadth escapes and multiplied dangers in their journey northwards, they embarked near the Giant's Causeway for Scotland. Cuellar survived another shipwreck, and at last got safe to Antwerp—how he does not say.

Cuellar's narrative is very graphic, and Mr. Allingham's elucidations are most valuable; we can trace his route almost without a break. The gallant captain notices more than once the beauty of the Irish women, but adds that they are "badly dressed". His description of the "savages" throws a remarkable light on the life and habits of the native Irish in the days of Good Queen Bess: "Their custom is to live as the brute beasts among the mountains, which are very rugged in that part of Ireland where we lost ourselves. They live in huts made of straw; the men are all large-bodied and handsome, active as the roe-deer. They do not eat oftener than once a day, and this at night, usually butter with oaten bread. They drink sour milk, no water, though it is the best in the world. On feast-days they eat some flesh, half-cooked. They clothe themselves with tight trousers and short loose coats of very coarse goat's hair. They wear their hair down to their eyes. The women do not wear more than a chemise and a blanket, with which they cover themselves, and a linen cloth over the head and tied in front." The description is that of an eye-witness, but, did we not know, we should think we were reading, in some respects, of some Red Indian tribe, and not of native Irish only three hundred years ago!

Among the illustrations we notice one of a genuine Spanish treasure-chest from the Armada. This is interesting, as it has lately been the fashion to denounce all so-called Spanish chests, which abound in Ireland, as frauds: but Mr. Allingham notes several undoubted examples.

We heartily commend this little work to our readers, both for its stirring narrative and for its graphic side-lights on Irish life and manners at the close of the sixteenth century.





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